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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## I.—THE FABLE OF THE CROW AND THE PALM-TREE: A PSYCHIC MOTIF IN HINDU FICTION.

### *Note.*

The following pages are concerned with a lost Hindu fable about a crow (*kāka*) and a palm-tree (*tāla*), which appears in literature strictly only in the shape of the allusive derivative adjective *kākatāliya*, 'pertaining to the crow and the palm-tree'. By way of introduction, other derivatives from compounded fable words, which occur in the literature and grammatical treatises, call for explanation or discussion.

The fable of the crow and the palm-tree is as follows: A crow alights upon a palm-tree just at the moment when the tree is falling, making it appear that the insignificant animal causes the downfall of the majestic tree. This turns out, in the light of the present treatment, to be an important psychic motif of Hindu fiction. In accordance with a plan for encyclopedic treatment of Hindu Fiction, stated some years ago,<sup>1</sup> the main

<sup>1</sup> See my articles, 'On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif', JAOS. xxxvi. 54-89; and, 'On the Art of Entering Another's Body': a Hindu Fiction Motif, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, lvi. 1-43. Preceded by, 'The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva, ibid. lii. 616-50; and, 'On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction', Festschrift für Ernst Windisch, 349-61. Dr. E. W. Burlingame has published, in the same spirit, 'The Act of Truth (Saccakiriya): a Hindu Spell and its Employment as a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1917, pp. 429-67.

purpose of this article is a study, as exhaustive as possible, of the kākatāliya motif.

*Derivatives from compounds alluding to fables.*

Hindu literature contains a liberal allowance of allusions to familiar fables which carry, by a word or two, the suggestion to the reader or hearer of the import of the fable. It is done, as with us, by mere mention of the chief actors or the chief properties that occur in the fable, such as 'the wolf and the sheep'; 'sour grapes'; 'strange feathers', etc. Now the language is facile in making compounds, and this results in the rather striking outcome of a number of compound words which join, with significant closeness, a pair of animals of the fable, or an animal and some inanimate object. As these dvandva pairs take on to themselves derivative grammatical suffixes, they become compact words of considerable length, calling for grammatical treatment; they are, therefore, preserved partly in literature, and partly in grammatical treatises. The final outcome is rather curious: the grammarians as well as the literature itself, have some fable compounds that are perfectly clear, and they have some whose import is obscure and disputable. Their number is not as large as is the interest attaching to them. We may wonder, by the way, whether Western literatures contain allusions to fables, no longer quite intelligible, because the fable itself has passed out, or has become obscured by later rifacimento, or popular mishandling.

*Kākolūkam, kākolūkiyam, and kākolūkikā.*

There are three derivatives from a copulative compound of the two birds' names kāka, 'crow', and ulūka, 'owl', namely, kākolūkam, kākolūkiyam, and kākolūkikā. The last of these words is reported in glosses (*vārttikā*) to Pāṇini 4. 2. 104; 3.125; it would seem that the word kathā, 'story', must be supplied with it. The compound kākolūkam occurs in a gloss to Pāṇini 2. 4. 9; it means 'crow and owl'. The third, kākolūkiyam, 'pertaining to crow and owl', is the name given by the Pañcatantra itself to the third book of that collection of fables,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>kākolūkiyāmī nāma tṛtyāmī tantram. See Weber, Indische Studien xiii. 486; Benfey, Das Pañcatantra, i. 37, 335 ff.

meaning, 'The story, or the book, of the crows and the owls'. Now this book deals with the enmity, or the war, between the crows and the owls; the words *kākolūkikā* and *kākolūkiyam* are, therefore, usually, but not precisely, so translated. Be this as it may, these words point not only to that remarkable section of the *Pañcatantra*, but also to popular storilettes and adages, based upon that hostility.

As regards the basis of this conception in the *īthos* (*svabhāva*)<sup>1</sup> of the two birds, very little can be adduced from accounts of the surface behavior of the two bird kinds, or from their recorded natural histories. The Western representatives of the two species are not in the habit of carrying on pitched battles. Owls are blind by day; crows do not see by night: *Vāsavadattā*, Introduction, stanza 6; *Pūrṇabhadra*, *Pañcākhyānaka*, p. 131, l. 10; *Kalyāṇamandirastotra* 3 (Indische Studien xiv. 378); Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche, nrs. 2805, and 142, 2214, 3814, 3895, 4668, 6855; Ramaswami Raju, Indian Fables, pp. 21 ff.; Benfey, Das *Pañcatantra*, vol. i, p. 252. The oldest names of both birds, *kāka*, 'crow', and *ulūka*, 'owl', are derived from onomatopoeic cacophonies. So also *ghūka*, another name of the owl (Sprüche, 3814)<sup>2</sup>. The crow frequents dung-heaps; says *kāka-kāka*, or *kā-kā* (*Jātakas* 339 and 451);<sup>3</sup> and is, in every way, conceived to stand at the bottom of the ornithological species.<sup>4</sup>

But the owl, too, is 'no great shakes'. When the owl is a candidate for the kingship of the birds, the crow remonstrates: 'Crooked-nosed, squint-eyed, gruesome, and repulsive is the owl to look upon, even when he is not angry. How will it be when he is in wrath?' Thus in *Pañcatantra* 3. 75 (ed. Kosegarten); 3. 78 (Bombay edition); *Tantrākhyāyikā* 3. 2; *Pūrṇabhadra* 3. 68, etc. Or, *Ulūka Jātaka* (270), 'Hold on, this

<sup>1</sup> *Mṛcchakaṭikā* 3. 2: *çahāviadoçe na çakkī vālidum = svābhāviko doṣo na çakyo vārayitum*, 'a fault inherent by nature cannot be checked'.

<sup>2</sup> *ghūka-ghūtkṛtāḥ*, *Rāuhin̄ye Carita* 5.

<sup>3</sup> So also in the folk story in Parker, Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon, vol. i, p. 224. Ironically, we are 'caw-caws', we are 'caw-caws', croak the crows, frightened by the shriek of owls: *Subhāśitārṇava* 214 (Sprüche, 5940).

<sup>4</sup> See my note on, 'Hānsa and crow', in 'The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārvanātha', p. 187.

fellow (the owl) has such a face at the moment of his coronation : what sort of a face will he make when he is wroth? When he will look at us in anger we shall burst right here (tatthatattha) like sesame seeds on a hot pan. I do not like to make him king ; he does not please me, he does not please me.' The birds chose the golden Haṇsa as king. Henceforward the two birds nursed enmity towards one another.<sup>1</sup>

It is conceivable that the owl, perched, unseeing by day, on the numberless branches of the huge banyan trees of India, challenged in some way the predatory instincts of the crow ; and, vice versa, that the crow, blind by night, is the owl's object of attack. Or, the acknowledged offensiveness of the two may have furnished the motive for their reciprocal dislike. Hindu literature, at any rate, reports this hostility with most certain voice. Hemacandra reports kākāri, 'enemy of the crow', as a kenning for 'owl'. In Samayāmāṭṛkā 4. 7 the words 'owl-faced', 'crow-necked', or 'cat-eyed' describe people that are forever quarreling. In Atṭhāna Jātaka (425), 'the Jātaka of impossible conditions', the Bodhisat offers to return to the house of an ungrateful and rapacious courtezan,

'When crows and owls shall meet to talk in converse privily,  
And woo each other, lover-like, the thing perchance may be'.

How likely this is may be gathered from the same list of ten impossible conditions, e. g.,

'When woven out of tortoise-hair a triple cloth you see,  
For winter wear against the cold, perchance it then may be'.

In the story of Sučronī, in the Tibetan Kanjur, the man taunts that lightskirt similarly : 'When the crow and the owl shall nest upon the same tree and enjoy bliss ; when the cobra and the ichneumon (mongoos) shall live harmonious in the same hole, then will you virtuous be'.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese Avadāna

<sup>1</sup> See Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. i, pp. 41-46, a sofisticated account of the birds' choice of a king. The owl is proposed, because he sleeps by day, but is awake by night, and keeps guard over the birds. The parrot here takes the place of the crow in objecting to the repulsive owl. The parrot is elected.

<sup>2</sup> See Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques* (*Bulletin of the Academy of St. Petersburg*) 1876, p. 746. In Ralston's recast, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 234, the simile of crow and owl is wanting.

applies these impossible conditions, with some changes, to a different theme, namely the search for Buddha relics: 'Si des corbeaux et des hiboux habitaient ensemble dans un même lieu, et vivaient entre eux, en bonne harmonie, on pourrait chercher des reliques du Bouddha.' See Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. ii, p. 114.

In Kosiya Jātaka (226), 'Owl Jātaka', an owl enters a thicket of bamboo, and hides in it. There comes a flock of crows: 'We will catch him', say they, 'as soon as he shall come out'. They surround the thicket; out comes the owl before his time, not waiting until the sun should set, and tries to make his escape. The crows surround him, and peck him with their beaks, till he falls to the ground. Feebly, the apolog teaches the Buddhist monks not to leave their dwelling before the right time. Turn about is fair play. In Hitopadeṣa 4. 47=Kāmanda-kīya-Nītiśāra 9. 40, the crow is the under dog: 'He that engages in battle, at an untimely season, is slain by him that fights in season, like the crow whom the owl deprived of his eyesight at midnight.'

This apophthegm is an allusion to what may be called the old historical fable of the two birds, which was floating property before it entered the wonderful frame-story of the third book of the Pañcatantra. It occurs in Mahābhārata 10. 1: The defeated Kuruide heroes, Kṛpa, Aṣvatthāman, and Kṛtavarman, in their flight, arrive at sunset in a forest under a banyan tree. As night comes on, Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman sleep, but Aṣvatthāman observes an owl which bravely comes on and kills many crows, perched upon the branches of the tree. Having killed them, the owl rejoices, because 'he has, as destroyer of his enemies, revenged himself upon them to his heart's content' (pratikṛtya yathākāmām ḡatrūṇām ḡatrusūdanah, 10. 1. 44). After some parley with his companions, Aṣvatthāman attacks by night the camp of the Pāṇḍuides, and succeeds in almost wiping them out.

Most of these ideas enter into the composition of the kāko-lukiya book of the Pañcatantra. They are, without doubt, to a considerable extent echoes of that most popular book, but, for my part, I would not doubt that apolog and apophthegm busied themselves with the interrelation of these two birds prior to the composition of the Pañcatantra, as they did without doubt,

busy themselves with them individually. The Pañcatantra story<sup>1</sup> represents a political intrigue, carried on by the ministers of the kings of the two species; this is done with a positively virginal innocence of any kind of morality. Their enmity is motivated by the story of the election in the past by the birds of a king, in which the owl's candidacy is 'queered' by the crow. The motif, 'owls blind by day; crows unseeing by night', enters strongly: In a banyan lives the king of the crows, Meghavarna, 'Cloud-color', surrounded by many crows. The king of the owls, Arimardana, dwells in that region in a mountain cave, which serves as castle. By night he circles about the banyan, killing so many crows that the tree is gradually depleted. Meghavarna consults his ministers, one after another. In good Hindu fashion they offer more or less Macchiavellian advice, the one last consulted regularly rejecting the plan of his predecessor. Finally Meghavarna consults Sthirajīvin, an old ex-minister of his father, who craftily stages a sham rupture with Meghavarna. In the presence of servants, Sthirajīvin uses unbridled language against his liege lord; the king attacks him with light pecks of his beak, and smears him with blood made ready for that purpose. The king then retires with his crows to the vicinity of the castle of the owls. A spy crow reports this important event to Arimardana, the king of the owls. The old minister Sthirajīvin places himself in the way of Arimardana, and proposes to betray the present refuge of the crows. Here again the king consults his ministers as to the advisableness of trusting a former enemy. After a to and fro of conflicting saws of political wisdom, the king decides to trust. Sthirajīvin, afraid to live with the owls in their castle, where he would be under constant surveillance, asks modestly for a habitation outside. Every day he throws a splinter of wood upon his lair, in order to fire the castle; flies by day, when the owls are blind, to Meghavarna, and orders the crows to come each with a burning splinter to the castle of the owls, and throw it upon his nest at the gate. In a final Ragnarök the owls are roasted in their stronghold, as tho in the hell Kumbhipāka, 'Pot-Fire'. Meghavarna returns to his banyan to a life, with his crows, that is henceforth merry and secure.

<sup>1</sup> A rationalized version of this story is quoted from the Chinese *Avadānas* by Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. i, pp. 31 ff.

*Ahinakulam and ahinakulikā.*

Much more obviously founded on their nature (*svabhāva*) is the hostility of another pair of animals, namely that of the serpent and the ichneumon or mongoos, as expressed in a compound, or a derivative from that compound. The scholiast to Pāṇini 2. 4. 9 mentions *ahinakulam*, 'serpent and mongoos'; the scholiast to Pāṇini 4. 2. 104, and Māhābhāṣya 4. 74 report the derivative *ahinakulikā*. The latter presumably means 'story of the serpent and mongoos'; the strife between the animals is implied, but not expressed.<sup>1</sup> Clear up from AV. 6. 139. 5, 'as the ichneumon tears the serpent', down to modern days, as may be seen in Kipling's story Riki-Tiki-Tava, this enmity is well understood and expressed in literature. Tho the Nakula Jātaka (165) lamely narrates a great success on the part of the Bodhisat in reconciling the pair,<sup>2</sup> the Tibetan version of the Aṭṭhāna Jātaka (425), quoted above, asserts, 'When the snake and the ichneumon dwell in the same hole, and put up with each other, then shalt thou be virtuous'; see Schiefner in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 764; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 234. When the two animals must live together temporarily, their native antagonism crops out, as in the Tibetan Tale, Ralston, *ibid.* p. 308. The same text, p. 33, has a passage which brings out the familiarity of the conception: A snake and an ichneumon, which had quarreled and were fighting with each other, begged that the king might be asked on what account they, as soon as they saw each other, day by day, became angry and began to fight.' A naive explanation follows on p. 35: 'When ye were men, ye were born as brothers. One of the two said, "Let us divide our property." But the other would not consent to the division. On that account, the one, being too covetous, was born again as a snake; but the other, inasmuch as he was excessively covetous and clung to his property, was born as an ichneumon.'

In Bhāvadevasūri's Pārçvanātha Caritra 7. 828 the Savior Pārçva's attendant Yakṣa stands devotedly by his side,<sup>3</sup> holding

<sup>1</sup> See Weber, *Indische Studien*, xiii. 486.

<sup>2</sup> AV. 8. 7. 23 the ichneumon and serpents occur together as discoverers of remedies, but the serpents here are the mythic Nāgas.

<sup>3</sup> Read pārçve for pārçvo, and see the author's 'The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha, pp. 19 and 167.

in his two left arms an ichneumon and a serpent (*nakulāhi*) : in his right two arms a citron and a serpent. The symbolism of the passage is too frenzied for confident interpretation, but I suspect that the two animals, nestling together, are an extreme illustration of peace on earth, due to the evangelism of the Savior.

Finally *Vāsavadattā*, introductory stanza 5, bestows upon the serpent the epithet *nakuladveśin* 'mongoos-hater'; vice versa, *ahidviṣ* 'serpent-hater' is reported in the lexicons as a kenning of the mongoos. The Hindu fable holds the idea in great esteem. In *Pañcatantra* 1. 20; *Hitopadeça* 4. 5 the mongoos is, *ex officio*, the destroyer of the serpent. In the frame story of the second book of the *Pañcatantra*, hostility between serpent and ichneumon is listed in a long catalog of natural hostilities ; see, *Tantrākhyāyikā* 2. 25; *Pūrnabhadra*, p. 131, ll. 8 ff. The chef-d'œuvre based upon this idea, namely, the story of the faithful ichneumon who guards the Brahman's child ; kills, in his service, a cobra which endangers the child's life ; and is in turn killed, because his bloody snout and paws render him suspect of having himself killed the child, is the theme of *Pañcatantra* 5. 2; *Hitopadeça* 4. 13. Its almost unbelievable propagation thru literature has been sketched by Benfey in § 201, pp. 479 ff.,<sup>1</sup> of his masterly Introduction to the *Pañcatantra*. It is vividly alive in the folk-lore of India to this day ; see, e. g. Kingscote, Tales of the Sun, p. 162.

*Peacock and porcupine as enemies of serpent.*

Aside from the mythical and legendary *Garuḍa*, the snake-killer par excellence, the serpent is also subject to the enmity of the peacock and the hedge-hog, or porcupine. 'The serpent and the peacock amused themselves under the same tree', is a golden age motif in *Nāṭeśa Sāstri*'s Folklore of Southern India, p. 137. Similarly, in *Çatrumjaya Māhātmyam* 10. 9 ff., beasts mutually hostile, as cats and mice, lions and elefants, serpents and peacocks, are said to live in harmony on one of the peaks of mount Siddhādri ; see Indian Antiquary xxx. 289. 'The snake-belts about the sandal-tree loosen, as soon as a peacock settles upon that tree': *Kalyāṇamandirastotram*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also, vol. ii, p. 548 of that work.

stanza 8 (Indische Studien xiv. 380). ‘Tho the peacock lives by the waters of the cloud, yet he daily devours serpents’: Rājatarañgiṇī 6. 309. Hence the peacock’s kennings, ahidviṣ and ahibhuj, ‘serpent-hater’, and ‘serpent-eater’.

In a charm against snake poison, AV. 5. 13. 9, ‘The prickly porcupine, tripping down from the mountain did declare this: “ Whatsoever serpents, living in ditches, are here, their poison is most deficient in force ” ’; see Bloomfield, SBE. xlvi. 28, 428. In Sāliya Jātaka (367) a wizard makes a boy seize a poisonous serpent, as tho it were a hedgehog, and is himself killed by the serpent when the boy (Bodhisat) manages to rid himself of the serpent; the contrast is without doubt based upon the same idea. Serpents are enemies of hedgehogs in Swynnerton, Romantic Tales from the Panjab, pp. 105, 110.

#### *Other animal hostilities.*

The compound ḡvāvaraṇhikā, ‘enmity between the dog and the boar’, is cited in a gloss to Pāṇini 4. 2. 104; ḡvasṛgālam, ‘dog and jackal’, in a gloss to Pāṇini 2. 4. 12. Neither combination has any discoverable standing in fable or fiction, but it is easy to see that dog and boar may clash at the chase; dog and jackal, in the homely animal life of village outskirts, infested by both animals.

There is a list of natural hostilities, referred to above (p. 8) in the frame story of the second book of the Pañcatantra (e. g. Tantrākhyāyikā 2. 25; Pūrṇabhadra, p. 131, ll. 8 ff.). In Tantrākhyāyikā they are horse and buffalo; cat and mouse; serpent and mongoos. Pūrṇabhadra has a long catalog, listing hostilities of gods, men, animals, and even inanimate objects.<sup>1</sup> The animals here paired are: serpent and mongoos; grass-eaters and claw-fighters; dog and cat; lion and elefant; crow and owl; see also the passage from the Ćatruṇjaya Māhātmyam, in the preceding rubric. In the epic fable, Mahābhārata 12. 138 (4930 ff.) ; Kathās. 33. 106 ff.; Benfey, Das Pañcatantra, vol. i, pp. 543 ff., cat and mouse discuss these hostilities elaborately.

<sup>1</sup> In the Chinese Buddhist fable, Julien, Les Avadānas, vol. ii, p. 109, antagonism is stated between fire and dry trees. In Pañcatantra 4. 1 (e. g. Pūrṇabhadra, p. 232, l. 12) friendship of fire and grass is said to be incredible (açraddheyam etat, tṛṇānām vahinā saha premabandhah). Even precious stones scratch one another; see Hertel in Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie, 1904, part 5, p. 121 (note on line 1183).

*Heron and fishes.*

The majority of these hostile pairs in dualic catch-words we hear of no further in fable. On the other hand, the relation of the heron or crane (*baka*) to fish, his 'kill', is abundantly exploited, so as to become proverbial, but no compound exists that expresses this hostility. From the start the well-known fable pervades all allusions. The 'old heron of the lake', *vṛddhabaka* (*Pañcatantra* 1. 7; *Hitopadeça* 4. 6), or *jinnakoñca* (*Dhammapada* 155), is the typical hypocritical ascetic for the law-books: *Manu* 4. 196; *Viṣṇu* 93. 9. He even manages to figure as the symbol of asceticism sans reproche, *Çārīgarapaddhati*, *Bakāñjokti* 4 (*bakavrata*); *Pañcatantra* 4. 51 = *Subhāśitārnava* 102 (*māuna*); *Böhtlingk*, *Indische Sprüche*, 4873 (*bako dhyānavān*); *ibid.* 6950 (*sarvendriyāni samyamya*); *ibid.* 6393, 6394 (*bakah paramadhārmikah*). Nevertheless, this same ascetic is so much in need of fish to live on, that the benign powers arrange it for him, *Āsaṅkā Jātaka* (380) and *Aṭhasadda Jātaka* (418). When the infirmities of old age prevent him from getting them any longer, he perishes, *Dhammapada* 155: *acaritvā brahmacariyam aladdhā yobbane dhanam, jiññakoñcā va jhāyanti khīṇamacche va pallale*, 'They who do not practice virtue, do not accumulate wealth in youth, perish like old herons at a lake that has become destitute of fish.'

The note of reprobation which pervades the classical fable is sounded, or the fable itself is hinted at: 'When the heron kills a fish, he makes a great noise; the lion that kills an elefant in rut, (merely) inserts his claws': *Çukasaptati* 70. 'Who would compare the crane that destroys the families of fish with the moon that delights men?': *Kathākoça*, p. 223. 'He that publishes his secret when his work is half done, is destroyed as the heron by the crab': *Böhtlingk*, *Indische Sprüche*, 624. The heron is the symbol of cruelty: *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1884, p. 107.

The classical fable of the heron, the fish, and the crab, *Pañcatantra* 1. 7; *Hitopadeça* 4. 6; *Tantrākhyāna*, st. 35 (37); *Kathāsaritsāgara* 60. 79 ff.; *Baka Jātaka* (38), tells how an old heron on the shore of a lake, no longer able to catch fish, feigns piety; induces the fish to get him to carry them to another lake; and eats them one and all. He then tries the same tactics upon a

crab who, however, cuts his throat with his shears. The fable's propagation and origin is discussed by Benfey, *Das Pañcatantra*, i. 174 ff.; its existence prior to its literary renderings seems to me probable. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, pp. 342 ff. repeats three popular versions of the fable; see also Ramaswami Raju, *Indian Fables*, p. 88. In *Bāudhāyana Grhya-Sūtra* i. 13 there is a curious rite at which fish are, apparently, sacrificed to herons at the foot of an udumbara tree, with evident allusion to the fable. See Winternitz, *Das Alt-indische Hochzeitsritual*, p. 101; and Zachariae in *Vienna Oriental Journal* xviii. 299.

### *Ajākṛpāṇīya.*

There are finally two derivatives, each from a pair of words alluding to fables; both times an animal and an inanimate object are correlated. The scholiast to *Pāṇini* 5. 3. 106 reports *ajākṛpāṇīya*, 'pertaining to the goat and the knife', and *kākā-tāliya*, 'pertaining to the crow and the palm'. As regards the former, there are two apologs in Hindu literature in which figure a goat and a knife<sup>1</sup>; in one of them the goat swallows a knife and dies; in the other he digs up a knife which is used to sacrifice him'. The latter fable is clearly the equivalent of the well-known Greek apolog, *αἰξ τὴν μάχαιραν*. In *Takkāriya Jātaka* (481) some goat thieves, having stolen a she-goat, decide to eat her, but find they have no chopper. 'Without a chopper', say they, 'we cannot eat the beast, even if we kill her: let her go! This is due to some merit of hers'. So they let her go. Now it happened that a worker in bamboo left a knife there hidden among the leaves, intending to use it when he came again. The goat began playing about under the bamboo clump, and kicking with her hind legs, made the knife drop. The thieves heard the sound of the falling knife, and with it delightedly killed the goat, and ate her flesh.

<sup>1</sup> See Pischel, *Vedische Studien* i. 181 ff.; Ludwig, *Ueber Methode bei Interpretation des Rgveda*, p. 34; *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 16. April, 1894; 1. April, 1895; Böhtlingk, *Berichte der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, April, 1901; February, 1895. Also various authors in *JA*. ix. Series, vol. 1, pp. 189 ff.; *WZKM*. xiv. 731; *ZDMG*. xlvi. 604-606; xliv. 371, 493, 497; xlvi. 737; xlvii. 86; *BB*. xx. 269.

The other apolog, in which the goat swallows a knife and comes to grief, centres in Mahābh. 2. 66. 8 (Bombay ed.) = 2. 64. 2193 (Calcutta ed.). Notwithstanding much discussion its details are not quite clear, as may be gathered especially from the divergent interpretations of the native commentators; see Pischel, 1. c., p. 182; Böhlingk, Berichte der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, February, 1895. I quote ajākṛpāṇiyam—for the first time, I believe—from literature, Čālibhadra Carita 5. 125 (ed. Pañdit Črī Dharmakumāra, Virasainvat 2436=1908), where it seems to mean misfortune brought about, or aggravated by one's own action. The gloss given there is: *yathā nipātayitum ānītāyāç chāgikāyāḥ praharāṇāya vilambitāyāḥ ḷastraskhalanāt svayam eva praharāṇā, prakarṣanām, gurutaram.* It contains the idea of one's self tying the noose with which, or building the gallows upon which, one is to be hanged, and, therefore, represents the first form of the apolog (*αιξ τὴν μάχαραν*). In this sense the frase and its apolog are, as we shall have reason to believe, the direct and full opposite of a lost apolog about a crow and a palm, and its catchword kākatāliyam.

*Kākatāliyam, pertaining to the crow and the palm.*

In accord with convincing modern tradition, the fable of the crow and the palm-tree symbolizes good fortune or success, which comes, unexpected, to a beneficiary, who himself seems to be the author of that success, but is in reality not so at all. Time has left its marks of erosion upon both sferes of apolog and apophthegm (ajākṛpāṇiyam and kākatāliyam). In the past, we may emphasize again, the two words expressed, two rather intricate but consciously opposite situations, singularly congenial to the Hindu instinct of moralizing on the strength of vivid experiences in real life.

Unlike ajākṛpāṇiya, its opposite kākatāliya is quite alive in the literature, but its fable has passed out entirely. In the proem to the Hitopadeça, stanza 34, we read:

kākatāliyavat prāptari drṣṭvāpi nidhim agrataḥ,  
na svayam dāivam ādatte puruṣārtham apeksate.

'When fate, (without its own effort) as in the fable of the crow and the palm, sees a treasure lying before it, it does not

itself grasp it, but awaits the work of man.' The implication is that something happens in the fable that is both unexpected, as well as important and pleasing to the crow. In Kathās. 30, 90,

asiddhāniṣṭa-siddheṣṭa-kākatāliyam vismitam,  
tatas tām tatra rājānam eko mantri tadābravīt,

the same idea appears: the king is astonished that something undesirable has been averted (asiddhāniṣṭa); and that his desire had been accomplished (siddheṣṭa) by a favorable chance—something not of his own doing—as in the fable of the crow and the palm.

The story here, Kathās. 30. 72 ff., is of a beautiful princess, Tejasvatī, daughter of King Vikramasena of Ujjayinī, who refuses all kings that woo her. But, one day, while on the roof of her palace, she sees a handsome man, falls in love with him, and sends her confidante to him to state her desire. The maid arranges an assignation in a lonely temple, but the man, tho consenting for the time being, flees somewhere else out of fear: a frog is not capable of relishing the fibres of red lotuses.

In the meantime, Somadatta, prince of high lineage, whose father is dead, and whose kingdom has been usurped by pretenders, comes to visit Vikramasena, his father's friend. By chance he enters the very temple chosen as rendezvous. The princess, blind with passion, approaches him, without distinguishing who he is, and makes him her self-chosen husband. Afterwards, separating, the princess returns to her own palace; the prince passes the rest of the night in the temple. In the morning the prince announces himself to the king, and renders an account of the usurpation of his kingdom. The king agrees to assist him in overthrowing his enemies. And he further determines to give him the daughter he has long desired to give away, and, then and there, states his intention to his ministers.

Thereupon the queen tells the king his daughter's adventure, having been informed of it by herself, indirectly thru the mouth of the princess' confidantes. It is at this point that the story pictures the king as realizing that calamity has been averted and his desire attained by favorable chance, as in the fable of the crow and the palm.

As regards the fable itself, Tawney in a foot-note to his Translation of Kathāsaritsāgara, vol. i, p. 271, reports the fol-

lowing epitome of the fable from the mouth of Pandit S. C. Mookerjea: 'This is well known in India now. A crow alighted on a palm-tree, when just about to fall, and so it appeared that his weight made it fall' ('fly on the wheel'). The stanza from the *Hitopadeça* and the preceding story unquestionably illustrate *kākatāliya* in Mookerjea's sense. The events happen without intentional participation on the part of the persons concerned; the favorable accidents of the story are like the falling of the palm; the participation of the persons like the presence of the crow at the time of palm's falling. This is true also of Mallinātha's gloss to Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* 2. 31, which is in praise of him that acts with discretion (*vivekin*), to wit: *sāhasikasya kākatāliyā siddhir vivekinas tu niyatā* 'success on the part of him that acts in passion (without discretion) is like the success of the crow in the *kākatāliya* fable; success on the part of the discrete man is intentional (conscious of its purpose)'. Not less clearly, *kākatāliya* refers to an unexpected favorable accident in a passage of Mālatimādhava, p. 84, l. 7, where the lover Mādhava unexpectedly has the good fortune to save his beloved Mālatī from the sword of an assailant.

*Secondary application of kākatāliyam.*

By a trick of fate, there exists unquestionably—the case is not unlike that of the goat and the knife—another interpretation of *kākatāliya* in India herself, differing *toto caelo* from Mookerjea's. The gist of this is that a crow comes along, just as a palm-tree is falling and is (unexpectedly, suddenly, 'wie jener zur ohrfeige') killed by the falling tree. The scholiasts to Pāṇini 2. 1. 3; 5. 3. 106 explain the word in this sense. Thus, *kākatāliyo devadattasya vadhaḥ*; and, *tatra kākatālaçabdāu dravyasahacaritāyām kriyāyām vartate, kākasyāgamanam iva Cāitrasyāgamanam, tālasya patanam iva dasyor upanipāta . . . tatas tena tālena patatā yathā kākasya vadhas tathā dasyunā Cāitrasya*; see Weber, Ind. Stud. iii. 362, 368; xiii. 486; Benfey, Das Pañcatantra, i. 186; Pischel, Ved. Stud. i. 183. Now there are a number of instances in which *kākatāliya* means something like 'not intended, unexpected, accidental, rash', without any implication of something favorable, but rather, the other way, with implication of something unfavorable, such as appears in the grammarians' interpretation of the word.

In Rāmāyaṇa 3. 45. 17 Rāvaṇa is reproached with having brought upon himself the kākatāliya enmity of Rāma, tad idam kākatāliyam vāiram āśāditam tvayā. The idea here can be nothing else than ‘unexpected, unforeseen, rash, violent’. In Mahābhārata 12. 176. 11 (6596) a camel unexpectedly flies away with two bullocks, tied across his back, to their destruction (kākatāliyam utpathena dhavathah).<sup>1</sup>

It is a good guess, that, of the two versions of the lost fable, Mookerjea's is correct and primary; that of the Pāṇinean Scholiast, garbled and secondary. For there is no road from the drab and pointless second form to the shrewd and witty first form. Still less is the application of the fable to events, in which an unexpected or pleasing outcome is kākatāliyat, derivable from the barer use of the word in the sense of ‘unexpected, sudden, thoughtless, rash’. Conversely, it is quite natural that the notion of pleasing and unexpected surprise should fade out into that of surprise merely, with the jocund element left out. Be this as it may, the kākatāliya idea in the sense of unexpected, undeserved, surprising success appears in Hindu fiction as a really fecund motif, and is equally well represented in universal fiction.

*‘Doctor Allwissend’, or, ‘Doctor Know-it-all.’*

The story of the princess Tejasvatī is illustrated in Kathā-saritsāgara, 30. 92 ff. A poor and foolish Brahman, Hariçarman,<sup>2</sup> is in the humble service of a householder, Sthūladatta. At the marriage feast of Sthūladatta's daughter he is sorely neglected, so that he cannot fill himself up to the throat with ghee and flesh and other dainties. So he decides to win respect by displaying, by means of an artifice, assumed knowledge. He hides away from Sthūladatta's house the horse which his son-in-law is in the habit of riding, and, in the morning, sends his

<sup>1</sup> Benfey, Pañcatantra i. 186, finds the expression kākatāliyam idam, in the introduction to the fable ‘Lion and Hare’ (his Pañcatantra i. 8), where kākatāliya fits not at all badly in the sense of ‘unexpected, violent’. But I cannot find that expression at the head of any existing Pañcatantra version of that fable, not even in Benfey's own translation, vol. ii, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> According to Benfey, in the article cited at the end of this story, Hariçarman means ‘Blockhead’.

wife to his distressed master to tell him that her husband, being a skilled necromancer, will be able to tell where the horse is. Hariçarman next betrays the whereabouts of the horse, which is easily found. Henceforth Hariçarman is greatly honored, and so far, it may be observed, Hariçarman is the architect of his own fortune. After a time the treasury of the king is looted, whereupon the king summons Hariçarman, on account of his reputation for supernatural knowledge. He is placed in a chamber of the palace, where he is to excogitate the theft. Now in the palace was a maid Jihvā ('Tongue') who had stolen the treasure with the assistance of her brother. As she is living in terror, she goes by night to the door of that chamber, to find out what Hariçarman is about. Hariçarman, at that very moment, is blaming his own tongue, which had made a vain assumption of knowledge: 'O Tongue (Jihvā), what is this that you have done, thru desire of enjoyment? Ill-conditioned one, endure now punishment in this place.' The maid Jihvā, falling at his feet, implores him to spare her, and tells him where the treasure is. The king rewards him with villages. The king's minister, however, drops the poison of suspicion into the king's ear, who decides to test his supernatural knowledge by putting a frog inside a pitcher, and making the Brahman tell what is there. Hariçarman, in distress, calls to mind his youth's nick-name of 'Frog': 'This is a fine pitcher for you, Frog, since suddenly it has become the swift destroyer of your helpless self in this place.' After that Hariçarman prospers exceedingly.

The story belongs to the type of 'Dr. Allwissend' ('Dr. Know-it-all'), best known thru Grimm's tale, nr. 98, and elaborated long ago by Benfey in *Orient und Occident*, vol. i, pp. 371 ff. An addendum to this article is published by Reinhold Köhler in the same journal, vol. iii, p. 184 ff., reprinted with very valuable additional notes by Köhler in *Kleinere Schriften von Reinhold Köhler*, vol. i (ed. Johannes Bolte, Weimar 1898), pp. 39 ff. (cf. also pp. 68, 584). The theme is also discussed by Tawney in his Translation of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, vol. i, p. 274; and by Joseph Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 244. The latter remarks that the usual form of discovery of the thieves is for the Doctor to have so many days given him to discover the thieves. At the end of the first day he calls out, 'There is one

of them', meaning the days, just as one of the thieves peeps thru at him. Anent this Jacobs calls attention to the title and the plot of Charles Lever's 'One of Them'.

In Parker, Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon, vol. i, pp. 179 ff., Dr. Allwissend performs five stunts: A poor villager, Appu, joins his fellow-villagers on a trip to sell their produce, taking with him chaff and coconut husks—all he has. They nick-name him mockingly Vedarāla (Doctor). On the way he observes in the jungle a yoke of cattle with letters branded on them. When the party arrives at a village, and asks for shelter in a certain house, the men of the house are cold to their request, and tell that they are worrying because their yoke of cattle is missing. Appu pretends to say sooth, restores the cattle, and obtains a half-share of their value. In another village he restores to the rightful owner a packet of coins stolen by a woman named Sihibuddi, after frightening her by accidentally pronouncing the syllables sihi buddi. Again he obtains half shares. The third time, thieves having broken into the strong-box at the foot of the king's bed, the Doctor, now established in his reputation, is called in by the king to display his power as a soothsayer. Frightened out of his wits, he calls for a rope to make away with himself. After receiving it, he exclaims that the cord is too short, and the elevation insufficient to hang himself by. In this Sinhalese occur the syllables kumandā, the name of the thief, who happens to listen outside. The thief, afraid that he is discovered, restores the loot. Then the king puts fire-flies into a coconut shell, and asks the Doctor what is there. The frightened Doctor decides to kill himself by striking his head against a tree. As he does so, he exclaims, 'O Father! It was as tho a hundred fire-flies flew about'. Lastly, the king holds a bird in his fist, and asks what he holds. Despairingly Appu pronounces a sentence which contains the syllables kurulu 'bird', and is then finally established in prosperity and unshakable reputation. Cf. Parker, ii. 121 ff.; 382 ff.; iii. 437, 438.

The last version is interesting, as showing that the psychic motif underlying 'Dr. Know-it-all' persists independently of any particular set of real properties. Therefore it readily adapts itself to the particular country, language, and environment which takes it up. There is even more local color in a Tamil version, reported by Julien Vinson in *Revue de Lin-*

guistique xv. 332 ff.: A lazy Brahman is driven out by his wife, and bidden to learn some science. He sees successively a rodent, a palm-tree, an owl, and a fox, and makes, in each case, a platitudinous remark about these objects: 'The rodent digs into the earth'; 'the tall palm holds itself straight'; 'the owl opens its eyes and looks aghast'; 'the little fox is starting to run'. With this 'science' he returns to his wife, who believes him.

A washerwoman has lost seven asses in seven months, and complains to the Brahman's wife. She heartens the washerwoman by telling her that her husband has learned a new science. The washerwoman goes to the Brahman, who promises to restore the asses. He goes in search, finds them, and ties them up behind a ruined wall. When the washerwoman comes back, he recites a formula, 'The asses are asleep, asleep; tied to a ruined wall, asleep.' The washerwoman finds them, and rewards him with two bags of silver.

The washerwoman hears from two of the king's servant maids, named Kanṇāy and Mükkāy, that they have dropt a pitcher of gold, belonging to the king, into a well. She refers them to the Brahman, who is cited by the king to find the pitcher. On the way he keeps crying out a sentence, beginning with the words, Kanṇukkum mükkum, etc. This means in Tamil, 'I am in danger of losing my eyes and my nose', scilicet, in consequence of the king's anger, if I don't find the pitcher. The two maids seem to hear their own names, and beg him not to tell that they have dropt the pitcher into the well. Easily he saith sooth, the pitcher is found, and he is rewarded. On returning he meets another sage who says to him, 'Seeing you are so very wise, tell me what I hold in my hand.' In a formula, in which he despairingly expresses his inability to guess, occur the syllables tummiti, 'a sort of date', the very thing his questioner holds in his hand. Again he is rewarded. On returning home, he buries all his treasure. Thieves begin to dig softly for his money, just as his wife asks him how he learned his 'science'. He recites the four platitudes which he had pronounced on seeing the rodent, the palm-tree, the owl, and the fox. They happen, by characteristic kākatāliya chance, to contain statements calculated to scare off thieves. The thieves run away, abandoning their own treasure, which, added to what

he already has, enables the Brahman to live with his wife opulently and happily. Cf. *The Orientalist* i. 37 ff.

In the fourth story of *Siddhi-Kür*, in Jülg, Kalmükische Märchen, a good-for-nothing husband is goaded by his wife into entering upon a business expedition. Right at the beginning of his undertaking he manages to lose all his equipment, remaining behind stark naked. Happening into the stable of a Khan, he hides himself in the hay. The Khan's daughter, happening there, drops unaware the life-talisman of the Khan<sup>1</sup>, which is enveloped by the dung from a cow. This is swept to one side by a servant maid in sight of the stow-away. Next day the Khan issues a proclamation by drum, and assembles all sooth-sayers, necromancers, etc., bidding them find the talisman. The naked man exposes himself to sight, claims that he is a wizard, and, after arranging for elaborate hocus-pocus, guides the search to the spot where the talisman lies enveloped in cow-dung. Fool that he is, he asks as reward the mere equivalent of the equipment with which he started from home. On returning to his wife, she upbraids him for his folly, and writes a letter to the Khan in which she demonstrates that the preliminary reward is merely to secure the life and health of the Khan, whereupon that generous monarch sends them countless treasures.

On the strength of his reputation the fake wizard is called to a distance where a Khan's son lies incurably sick. His wife is a Rāksāī (ogress), who had come there in the company of a male Rāksasa in the guise of a buffalo, and had married the seven sons of the Khan, six of whom she had devoured, until the sick one alone remained. Our wizard in the course of his doings, gets into the Khan's stable, where he frightens the buffalo into the belief that he understands his true nature. He overhears a conversation between the buffalo and the Rāksāī princess, in which both agree that the wizard has penetrated their disguise, and, further, that, if any one commands them to show their true nature, they must obey.<sup>2</sup> The wizard orders that, on the next day, all men should appear armed, and all

<sup>1</sup> Motif, 'Life-Index', to be treated elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> The idea that the practices of a wizard (*yātudhāna*), or demon (*rakṣas*), give rise to suspicion, accusation, and confession, goes back to very early Hindu conceptions; see the hymn, RV. 7. 104, especially stanzas 14 ff.

women, with bundles of fagots. He commands the Rāksases to manifest their true nature, whereupon the men slay the buffalo Rākṣasa, and the women burn up the female Rākṣasi. By his wife's cunning, not by his own good sense, he obtains, in consequence of his deed of delivery, wealth and high station.

*'Das tapfere Schneiderlein', or, 'The valiant Tailor'.*

Stories of the type of Dr. Know-it-all connect the kākatāliya idea with unforeseen, triumphant exhibit of what the Hindus would call matiprakarsa, or 'mental superiority', which is in every case fictitious. There is another type, in which the same idea applies to exhibits of fictitious physical superiority. The psyche of the two types is precisely the same, as is shown by the fact that they are occasionally blended. I mean the type of stories, told by narrators all over the world, and made famous by Grimm's version of '*Das tapfere Schneiderlein*' (nr. 20), '*The valiant Tailor*'. The extent to which these ideas pervade the folklore of all peoples may be gathered from Köhler's bibliografic and statistic remarks in *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 86, 262, 510, 564. There is scarcely a single trait of Hindu stories of this sort which is not repeated in exotic versions, and, vice versa, all the rollicking drollery of these stories, dear to the heart of both young and old children, is to be found in the Hindu stories.

The only story of this type which is, as far as I know, accessible in one of the literary languages of India, is that given in *Dharmakalpadruma* iii, vi, 149 ff., as printed and translated by Hertel in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. lxiv, 1912, fascicle 1, pp. 58 ff.:

A Rājput named Dhīra, 'Bold', anything but bold, is driven into a life of adventure by his ambitious wife, who seeks his destruction. On his journey to another country he meets seven robbers who take away everything he has, stripping him naked. The robbers, being hungry, eat the poisoned food which our hero's wife has given him for his journey, and die on the spot. Dhīra, who has been hanging about there, returns, notices crows over the bodies of the robbers, gathers courage to cut off their heads, and fastens them about his waist.<sup>1</sup> With their weapons

<sup>1</sup> "Sieben auf einen schlag, wer macht es mir nach?" Köhler, ib., pp. 563 ff., recites an astounding variety of this droll boast. See below.

and clothes, puffed up with pride, he travels on to Hastinapura, where rules King Çriharṣa. Depositing the robbers' heads at the door of the palace, he enters, and gives an account to the king of his heroic deed. On the strength of this, he is made general, a lakh of gold being his honorarium. A lion happens to infest the country, whereupon the ministers point out, that he who is receiving the lakh ought to kill the lion. The king orders him to do so, but Dhīra pretends that it is beneath his dignity to massacre cattle. He leaves the city, is overtaken by gruesome night, and, in terror, climbs a tree to await the coming of day. The lion comes along, smells human flesh, and roars at Dhīra from under the tree. In terror he drops his lance which kills the lion. In boastful triumph he returns to Hastinapura; is given a province as reward of his heroism; and attains to greatest glory.

Very similar is the Chinese-Buddhist version reported by Chavannes, *Cinq Cent Contes et Apologues Chinois*, vol. ii, p. 205 (nr. 301): A woman conceives hatred against her husband, and, on the occasion of his having business in another country, prepares 500 poison pills, which, she pretends, will strengthen and nourish him on the way. By night, afraid of wild animals, he climbs a tree, leaving the pills, none of which he has as yet eaten, carelessly under the tree. Five hundred robbers halt under the tree, hungry and thirsty. Each eats one pill; all die at the same time. In the morning our hero sees their dead bodies, hits them with sabre and arrows, and takes their saddle-horses and equipment with him. The king of the realm, who has started to exterminate those robbers, meets him, and hears from him an account of his single-handed victory over the 500 robbers. After sending to see whether the robbers are really there under the tree, the king loads him with dignities and rewards. A lion infests the country, and on the advice of his ministers who are jealous of the parvenu, the king sends him to slay the lion. As soon as he sees the lion the hero flees in terror up a tree, and drops his knife from his trembling hand into the gaping maw of the lion. When he reports his victory the king redoubles his favors, and the hero is acclaimed as a celebrity.

Once more Nāṭeśa Sāstrī Pandit, reporting folk stories from Southern India<sup>1</sup>, has the following variant: A poor village

<sup>1</sup> See Indian Antiquary xiv. 109 ff.; reprinted in Kingscote, Tales of the Sun, pp. 107 ff.

Brahman with a childless wife, falls in love with a beautiful girl, and obtains the grudging consent of his first wife to marry the girl. Pregnant with child, the new wife goes to her mother's house for confinement. The Brahman, longing to visit her, obtains the consent of wife number one to visit her, carrying with him, as gift from the first wife to the pregnant co-wife, a hundred poisoned cakes. By night, the Brahman lies down in a travelers' shed. A robber chieftain has sent out a hundred robbers to carry off a princess, whom a neighboring king refuses to give as wife to the robber chieftain's son. They arrive there with the princess on her cot, smell the cakes, eat them, and die. In the morning the Brahman misses the cakes, and angrily takes the sword of one of the dead robbers, and cuts off all their heads, thinking all the while that he is killing a hundred living robbers. The king arrives with an army in pursuit, the Brahman wakes up the princess, and speaks thus: 'Behold before you the hundred robbers that brought you here. I fought one and all of them single-handed, and have killed them all.' The princess, out of gratitude, proposes to become his wife; the king consents to accept her brave preserver as son-in-law.

A lioness living in a wood near that country is in the habit of receiving, as permanent tribute, one man per week. Now the people urge the king to send his son-in-law to dispatch the lioness. Nilly, willy, our hero must make a brave show. As in the preceding versions, he goes up a tree, trembles from fear, and drops his sword into the lioness' jaws, as she yawns. This exploit fully establishes his valor.

On its strength the king ceases to pay tribute to a powerful emperor who is exercising suzerainty over all the surrounding countries. Thereupon the emperor invades the king's country; the king turns to his valiant son-in-law for succor. The poor Brahman starts on his fateful expedition on a mettlesome horse. Unable to control his mount, he has himself tied on with cords. The horse runs away in the direction of the enemy. Passing under a big palmyra tree, he holds fast to one of its branches. The tree is uprooted and dragged along in the swift course of the steed. Horror-stricken at the sight of a warrior, armed with a huge tree, the enemy flees. When the horse is exhausted, it returns to the palace from whose lofty windows the king has

been watching the fray. A splendid triumphal entry inaugurates his now established glory.

Nāṭeśa Sāstrī heads his story with a Sanskrit cloka, obviously a versus memorialis of the story :

apūpena hatāḥ corāḥ hatāḥ khaḍgena kesarī,  
turaṅgamena hatāṁ sānyam vidhir bhāgyānusāriṇī.

'By a cake the robbers were killed ; by a sword the lioness ; by a horse the army. Fate follows good luck.' This points to a literary source, and to a definite number and order of the adventures of 'Tapferes Schneiderlein'. Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, p. 312, reports a parallel verse from Dharmapāṇḍita's Pañcatantra, which he regards mistakenly as the superscription to four stories, but which must be an epitome of Nāṭeśa's story with a fourth additional rodomontade :

apūpena hatāḥ corāḥ aṣvavegena ḡatravāḥ,  
kāṣṭhasātena siṅhaç ca vyāghro 'pi kiṭadañṣṭrayā.

The parallel construction of the four incidents, each with hatāḥ, is obvious. Equally so is the meaning of the first two pādas : 'By a cake thieves were slain ; by the swiftness of a horse, enemies (were slain).' The third pāda seems to refer to the persistent lion adventure. In the third pāda Hertel reads kāṣṭhaçātena which he assumes to be=kāṣṭhakūṭena, and sees in this pāda a reference to the fable of the Woodpecker and the Lion, whose bibliography he summarizes on p. 110, note. But the word alludes to the adventure on the tree : read kāṣṭha-pātena for ° sātena. The compound then would mean 'by the fall of a cudgel'. The version in question probably has the cudgel in place of the sword. How the tiger of the fourth pāda was prevented from eating Schneiderlein by the bite of an insect does not appear here, nor in any of the parallel stories. Even Hertel's great learning and marvelous memory seem to leave him in the lurch, but it is hardly to be questioned that a literary version of our story, including this trait, is in existence somewhere.

Curiously, a tiger figures, but in a totally different way, in a folk-lore version of this story, consisting of only two parts, told by M. Frere, Old Deccan Days, pp. 187 ff.: A tiger creeps, during a violent storm, for shelter close to an old woman's hut.

The rain keeps dripping into the hut, so that she is compelled to move the furniture about, and exclaims: 'O dear, I'm sure the roof will come down! If an elefant, or a lion, or a tiger were to walk in, he wouldn't frighten me half as much as this perpetual dripping.' The tiger is thus bluffed into the belief that 'Perpetual Dripping' is something very dreadful.<sup>1</sup>

A potter who has lost his ass, seeing the tiger by a flash of lightning, mistakes him for his donkey; seizes him by the ear; and commences beating, kicking, and abusing him with all his might and main. The tiger, thinking he must be 'Perpetual Dripping', submits to being led bound to the potter's house, where he is tied to a post for the night. In the morning news of the potter's exploit spreads thru the village, and thence reaches the king, who in recognition of his valor, confers upon him every possible honor, as well as the command of ten thousand horse.

The second part of the story contains the exploit with the horse and the tree.

The Siddhi-Kür 19 (Jülg, Mongolische Märchen, pp. 163 ff.) tells of a poor young weaver who sits weaving in the forest. A lark settles upon his loom; he hits out with his shuttle and kills it. Evidently he construes this as an inspiring or heroic deed, tho the story does not say so. He decides to abandon his unremunerative trade, and to woo the daughter of the King of India. On arriving in that country, there happens to take place a festival in honor of the return of the princess from some journey. At that festival he manages to obtain his fill of food and some silk attached to the image of a garuda bird. He gains access to the king, demands his daughter in marriage, and, for some reason, the king consents. The princess refuses to marry a beggar, and, when the king asks what sort of a man she would marry, she replies: 'A man who knows how to make boots out of silk.' Owing to this suggestion, his boots are investigated, and the silk which he had stuck there is brought to light. He rises yet higher in the regard of the king, but the queen will none of him, and craftily plans his destruction. By a quiz, she extracts from him the confession that he has no claim by

<sup>1</sup> Parker, Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon, vol. ii, p. 396 ff., quotes three other versions of the 'Perpetual Dripping' variety.

wealth or station, but that he is ready to win the princess by exhibitions of prowess.

It happens just then that a hostile army is marching against the kingdom. The queen promises him the princess' hand, in case he should rout the enemy. The queen equips him properly, plies him with strong drink, and furnishes a few soldiers, who, however, soon abandon him. His horse, which he does not know the least bit how to manage, runs away with him into the jungle, so that, in distress, he seizes the branches of a tree, crying, 'I shall surely die.' By this swift impact the root of the tree is torn out, and its trunk smashes many enemies. The rest seek safety in flight. Returning with immense booty, the king is ready to accept him, but the queen insists that he must demonstrate his personal courage, by killing a big fox. Unable to find the fox, he returns, but, on nearing the castle, he notices that he has lost his bow. In the meantime the fox has found the bow, has tried to bite its string in two, and has been killed by the bow itself.<sup>1</sup> When he comes upon his bow, the fox lies dead; he returns with his pelt, in triumph. Yet one more test of his valor he must endure, namely to kill seven demons in the North. The princess, now interested in his welfare, prepares for him seven loaves of rye and seven of wheat. He keeps eating the rye, and one night, as he takes his meal, the seven demons pounce upon him. In his precipitous flight he abandons the wheat loaves; the demons stop to devour them, and die of the poison which the princess has mixed in with the dough. He marries the princess and rules half the kingdom.

The 18th story of the Siddhi-Kür treats the same motif in a secondary, drastic fashion: A silly young man of means is married to a shrewd vixen. He does nothing for a living, passing his time lazily at home. The wife obtains, thru a trade with merchants, the plumage of a griffin; deposits it outside, on the spot where she has traded with the merchants; and harangues her husband, as follows: 'You are no good in a trade, but why should you not, if you went in and out, manage to gain something? What are we going to live on when your inherited

<sup>1</sup> This is the familiar fable motif, 'death by bow rebounding after the string is chewed or burned'. See citations by Hertel in ZDMG. lxi. 72 (ad p. 65); and Hertel, Pañcatantra, pp. 170, 185; Ralston, Tibetan Tales, p. 287.

means are all spent?' He goes out, finds the two wings of the griffin, returns triumphantly, and exclaims: 'From this day on I will go out to trade; prepare my food for the journey!' Next day he saddles an ass, rides off, and comes to a cave which serves a robber band as refuge. He climbs upon a rock over the cave and sits down to eat. Some merchants arrive, stack their goods in front of the cave, and place their trumpet at the cave's door. Having eaten excessively he breaks wind, whereupon the trumpet gives forth a mighty sound. The merchants flee in terror, and he returns to his wife with all their goods. How his wife, sceptical of his prowess, manages afterwards to convict him by an obscene trick, is out of the picture, and concerns not our theme directly.<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pariçistaparvan* 2. 692 ff.

In *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 89 ff.,<sup>2</sup> Valiant Vicky ('Prince Victor'), a little weaver, dreaming of heroic deeds, happens to kill a mosquito with his shuttle. Elated by this deed of derring-do, he starts from home with a bundle, his shuttle, and a loaf of bread, and comes to a city, where a dreadful elefant daily makes a meal off the inhabitants. He goes to the king, and proposes to meet the elefant single-handed, without weapons, except his redoubtable shuttle. On meeting the elefant he is scared to death, and runs off, dropping his bundle, his shuttle, and his bread. His wife has mixed poison into the bread to rid herself of him; the elefant eats the bread, falls dead, and Vicky seats himself triumphantly on his head.

The king makes Vicky commander-in-chief; sends him out with an army against a devastating tiger; Vicky escapes into a tree; and the army scatters. Tiger and Vicky pass six days watching one another. On the seventh Vicky, starved, attempts to slip past his enemy, but the tiger jumps at him with a roar. As Vicky attempts to swing himself back into the tree, his dagger drops into the open jaws of the tiger, and kills him. He returns with the tiger's head, and marries the princess.

A neighboring king attacks with an army; the inhabitants clamor for Vicky's leadership against the enemy. But Vicky,

<sup>1</sup> For this end of the story see Benfey, *Pañcatantra* i, p. xxv, note; Liebrecht, *Orient und Occident*, i. 116 ff., 136 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See previously, *Indian Antiquary* xi. pp. 280 ff. Communicated by a Muhammadan at Sopur in Kashmir.

in the middle of the night, decamps with his wife and their golden dishes. As they are stealing by night thru the besieging army's camp a cockchafer flies into Vicky's face. In a terrible taking, he and his wife run home again, and bolt under the bed. The wife has dropped the golden dishes with a clang ; the noise arouses the enemy, who, half asleep, cannot distinguish friend from foe in the pitch-dark night. Falling on each other, they fight with such fury that by next morning not one is left alive.

Vicky receives half the kingdom, and rules with great dignity, refusing ever afterward to fight, because kings pay others to fight for them.

In Swynnerton, Indian Nights' Entertainment, p. 208, a weaver kills nine flies on his arm, and calls himself Nomar Khan, 'the Nine-killing prince'. He becomes commander-in-chief. Both this and the Vicky story are probably of Western Oriental origin.

*Kākatāliya blended with other motifs.*

A version of 'Valiant Tailor', in which the hero adds bluff<sup>1</sup> to opportunity, is told by Parker, Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon, vol. i, pp. 312 ff. It is of extra interest, because it blends the present motif with that of 'Jack the Giant-killer'. That this blend is, as it were, inevitable, appears clearly from the analysis of traits of the latter tale, as given by Köhler, ib., pp. 85 ff. In the Jack the Giant-killer type a giant, or devil, or Persian ghul is overcome by a weak person : a boy, more often a tailor, or a schoolmaster. In Parker's story Sigiris Sinno, a drunkard, having begged a coconut, eats it in a travelers' resting-shed. He strikes at the flies which are settling there ; kills twenty ; and begs a tinner to cut on a sheet of tin the legend : 'I killed twenty.' This tin shield he hangs by a cord on his neck ; men who see it step to one side thru fear, and go away. He hears of a king who has a prize-fighting giant : should any one overcome this giant, the king will give him five hundred masuran and the post of Prime Minister. On coming before the king, the latter says : 'I have a giant. Canst thou fight with the giant and

<sup>1</sup> This fecund theme (*vyāghramārī*, or 'tiger-killing lady') has been worked up by my former pupil, Dr. William Norman Brown, and will be soon published.

win?' Sigiris replies: 'I am one who has killed twenty giants, better than that one.'

They are first to engage in a swimming contest. The giant obtains ten rupees from the king, in order to buy things to eat while they are swimming. When they have made their purchase Sigiris exclaims: 'What are these few things! For one meal I want six quarts of rice and three bottles of arrack. I can swim for eight or ten months.' The giant backs out of the swimming contest, and proposes a fist-fight. When the king asks Sigiris whether he can fight the giant, he answers: 'I will give that one one blow.' They are to get ready in a month's time, during which they occupy adjoining rooms. Sigiris gets hold of an iron nail, with which he gradually makes thin a spot between the two rooms. The day before that appointed for the fight, he asks the giant for some tobacco. The giant asks, how he can hand it to him; Sigiris tells him to knock a hole thru the wall with his hand. The giant professes himself unable, whereupon Sigiris strikes thru the place which he has previously scraped. On the day of the fight Sigiris thinks in his mind, 'To-day is indeed my Fate. How shall I escape?' The giant's thoughts, thru fear, are much the same. They both look for avenues of escape; the giant runs away first; the king bestows upon Sigiris five hundred masuran, and establishes him in the post of Prime Minister. Cf. Parker, iii. 367.

It is interesting to observe that the 'Valiant Tailor' story, whose hero is an innocent, combines with another type in which the innocence of the hero has, as it were, its last expression. This is the type 'Hans im Glück'<sup>1</sup> (Grimm, nr. 1). In *The Orientalist*, ii, p. 102, there is a story by A. E. R. Corea, in which a man, in search of work, gathers some edible leaves on the road-side. These he exchanges for fishes, a leaf for a fish, in a place where there are no vegetables. He barters the fishes for hoes, and these, again, for oxen, with which he sets off to return home. Having nothing to eat, he continues to give two oxen for two rice-cakes, until, at last, he arrives at his home empty-handed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Fair exchange is no robbery', in its ironic sense.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, pp. 304 ff., 336 ff. Cf. also vol. ii, pp. 57 ff.

At this point begin his kākatāliya experiences. When he comes before his wife, as poor as he went, she pretends to believe that he will be more lucky next time, and sends him on a new expedition with a viaticum of poisoned cakes. These kill a destructive elefant who rushes upon him, and, on the strength of his seeming exploit, he is made to pass thru the crises of the tiger adventure and the tree fight.

*Kākatāliya by proxy.*

From the same sfere of conceptions comes the type of story in which the leading personage performs deeds by proxy. The kākatāliya element remains the same, namely, the attainment of unexpected, or unwarranted, favorable results by a person wholly unpredestined and unfitted for the adventures incurred. The exploits performed are those of the 'Valiant Tailor'. In Bhīmasena Jātaka (80) the Bodhisat is born as a hunch-backed dwarf, named Culladhanuggahapāṇḍita ('Wise Little Bowman'). Being a Brahman he gets a finished education at Tak-kasilā, but realizes that his bodily defects will prevent his success in the world. He decides to use some tall broad man as his stalking-horse, picks a huge weaver, Bhīmasena, tells him to vaunt his prowess with the bow, and to seek the service of the king. The king accepts him at a guerdon of a thousand pieces a fortnight; the dwarf acts as his page.

Now at that time a tiger blocks a frequented high-road in Kāsi, devouring many victims. The archer, being sent out to kill him, is told by the dwarf to muster a large band of country folk who are to arouse the tiger. When the tiger is aroused the weaver is to bolt into a thicket, and lie down on his face. As soon as the people shall have beaten the tiger to death, the weaver is to come out with a creeper in his hand, and pretend that he meant to lead the tiger by his creeper, like an ox, to the king. The folk will then be frightened, and bribe him heavily not to report them to the king, and the king will also reward him. So it happens, and the same events are repeated in connection with a rampant buffalo.

Whereupon the weaver, intoxicated with his prosperity, begins to treat the Bodhisat with contempt, and to scorn his advice. A hostile king marches upon Kāsi, summoning its king

to surrender his kingdom, or to do battle. Bhīmasena is sent out at the head of the army on an elefant, the dwarf seated modestly behind him. At the first note of the martial drum Bhīmasena falls a-quaking with fear, so that he fouls the elefant's back. The dwarf bids him wash and go home; himself dashes into the fight; drags out the hostile king; and leads him in triumph to Benares. From that day all India is loud with his fame. The weaver returns to his home.

In Dhammapada Commentary 2. 3<sup>e</sup><sup>1</sup> kākatāliya effects are also procured by proxy, this time by a charm which a foolish pupil obtains from his teacher, as reward for his devotion. The charm is: 'You're rubbing, you're rubbing! Why are you rubbing? I know too.' Shortly after the young man's return to Benares, the king sets out, à la Harūn-ar-Rashīd, to find out what his people think of him. The first house the king comes to is that of the young pupil. The king observes tunnel thieves breaking into the house. The noise awakens the young man, who begins to repeat his charm, and the thieves flee.

The king learns the charm. That very day the Prime Minister goes to the royal barber, gives him a thousand, and says to him: 'The next time you shave the king, cut his throat; then you shall be Prime Minister, and I shall be king.' While the barber is sharpening his razor, the king begins to repeat the charm.<sup>2</sup> The barber, thinking that the king is aware of his intention, throws away his razor, falls at the feet of the king, and implores his pardon, afterwards revealing the plot. The king banishes the Prime Minister, and appoints to his place the young man who taught him the charm.

<sup>1</sup> See Burlingame's synopsis, p. 85 of his Translation of that work in HOS.

<sup>2</sup> The charm in question occurs otherwise in the Tantrakhyāna (Bendall, stanza 34; Hertel, stanza 32); see Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, pp. 319, 327. It is as follows:

ghasasi ghasasi kṣuramī saimbhramamī mām nirikṣase,  
jñāto 'si tvām mayā dhūrta yan mām chalitum ichasi.

Here ghasasi is either corrupt, or Prākritism for gharṣasi, in which case it reflects a Prākrit original. The tale alluded to in this stanza seems to occur here for the first time; but see also the folklore version immediately following.

It is interesting to observe that our application of the kākatāliya idea both to 'Dr. Know-it-all' and to 'Tapferes Schneiderlein' is borne out by a folk-lore conglomerate which combines the last mentioned razor motif, obviously pertaining to 'Dr. Know-it-all', with two of the episodes of 'Tapferes Schneiderlein'. In the Orientalist, vol. ii, pp. 174 ff., there is a Sinhalese story, by T. B. Panabokke, of a foolish minister (*adigār*), as timid as he is illiterate. The rest of the ministers, out of jealousy, induce the king to command each of his ministers to compose a stanza in his honor. The illiterate one, unable to find anything, perches himself on a rock near his house, brooding upon his failure, which is likely to cost him his office. An old buffalo comes along, and, as is the wont of his species, begins rubbing his neck against the side of the rock. This inspires the minister with a bright idea; he writes upon his tablet: 'Do I not know the reason why you are coming rubbing your neck against the rock?' Now this line in the original means also: 'Do I not know the reason why you are coming whetting your razor?' With this line written four times he presents himself before the king, who is rather taken with its meaningless jingle, and keeps repeating it. Now the other ministers, angered, plan to take the king's life, and bribe the king's barber to cut His Majesty's throat. When the barber comes up, the king, as is his habit, repeats this line. On hearing it the barber prostrates himself; confesses; the ministers are executed; and the stupid one raised to the position of Prime Minister.

Later on this same *adigār* gets again to be regarded with a jealous eye by the *adigārs* that succeed the faithless ones in office. Again they plot against him, and succeed in having him sent out against the lion, and against the hostile army upon a mettlesome horse, in the manner of the normal or unitarian versions of the story.

#### *Incidental kākatāliya.*

The two types of kākatāliya stories represent without doubt the fable's primary application. Given deficient intellect and deficient strength as starting-points, the shrewd and rude humor of the folk is certain to hit the device of contrasting these shortcomings ironically with the highest success. The paradox is,

paradoxically speaking, most natural. But the kākatāliya idea is not likely to restrict itself to this rounded off design. There will be, in stories whose main motif is otherwise, chance of applying the idea as an incidental *deus ex machina* device, even tho the incapacity or unfitness of the hero is not stated or felt so distinctly.

Thus the well-known Pañcatantra tale, 'Weaver as Viṣṇu'<sup>1</sup>, is, in the last analysis, also a kākatāliya story. The reckless doings of the weaver, calculated to arouse the anger of the god Viṣṇu, bring on, at a critical moment, and quite as a pleasant surprise (kākatāliya), the aid of that god himself, so that the hero, at the moment of impending disaster, emerges into triumphant success. What is more, the hero is not a particularly worthy person, in point of fact, a weaver, whom we have met before in kākatāliya exploits:

A certain weaver falls in love with a beautiful princess. Despairing of fulfilment, he is about to commit suicide, when a friend of his, a carpenter, comes to the rescue. He fashions of wood a mechanical Garuḍa bird (Viṣṇu's mount), as well as the rest of the standard mythological belongings of the god. After that he instructs the weaver in the mechanism of the Garuḍa, and bids him fly, as Viṣṇu, to the apartment of the princess, pretend that he is the god, and enjoy the princess. He does so; easily overcomes the princess' scruples; and unites himself with her by the Gandharva rite of marriage. After this has gone on for some time the coral under lip of the princess shows signs of amorous bites, a matter not unnoticed by the eunuchs of the harem. They report the affair to the king, who, in turn, confers with the queen. As soon as they confront the maiden with their well-grounded suspicions, she explains that no less than lofty Nārāyaṇa comes to her nightly as her husband. The parents, rejoiced, can hardly await the coming night to witness the glorious sight of the god who has so greatly honored their house. After the king has convinced himself with his own eyes of the truth of his daughter's adventure, he determines, by the might of his son-in-law, to subjugate the

<sup>1</sup> The bibliography of this tale is stated by Hertel, ZDMG. lxi. 71 (nr. 33, ad pp. 45 ff.).

whole earth, and, by way of preliminary, commits acts of unrighteousness against his neighbors.

The neighboring rulers ally themselves against the king, and make war against him. Thru his daughter-in-law the king appeals to the weaver, who says to her: 'O beatified, how insignificant are thy father's enemies! Fear not, in a moment I shall crush them with my discus, yclept Sudarçana.' Nevertheless the weaver, in trepidation, lies low for a while, until the king is indeed hard pressed, and his wife becomes very insistent. Then he realizes that complete defeat will include his own discomfiture, and decides to bluff out the rôle of Viṣṇu. The real god Viṣṇu, who knoweth past, future, and present, then says to the real bird Garuḍa: 'Knowest thou that a certain weaver is acting my part, sitting on a wooden Garuḍa? He means to fight in dead earnest, and will surely be killed by the arrows of the enemy. After his death all the world will say that Viṣṇu and Garuḍa have been conquered by warriors, and will cease to honor us. Hie thee, therefore, and enter into this wooden Garuḍa; I, for my part, will transplant myself into the body of the weaver, so that he may annihilate his enemies.' So it happens, and the weaver ever after lives merrily with his wife, greatly honored by the king.

*Negative kākatāliya, or 'Biter bit'.*

There is a type of story whose main trait is the 'Biter bit' idea<sup>1</sup>, widely prevalent, infinitely variegated, which in a negative way suggests the kākatāliya motif operating in favor of the person plotted against. Such stories contain also positive elements of the same sort, because the person plotted against occasionally derives advancement in wealth and station in the final dénouement. Thus in Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka (432) a young couple live together with their two mothers. The daughter, conceiving hatred against her mother-in-law, persuades her husband to kill her. They are to carry her off by night, bed and all, and throw her into the crocodile river. The son, however, preferring the death of the other old lady, puts a

<sup>1</sup> "Wer andern eine grube gräbt, fällt selbst hinein." 'Often the harm that one wishes to another recoils on one's self, as a ball thrown against a wall': Kathās. 20. 213.

mark which is to distinguish the two old women by night upon the bed of his mother-in-law, who is thus permanently rendered innocuous by being fed to the crocodiles. Next morning, when the mistake is discovered, the wife says to the husband: 'My lord, my mother is dead, now let us kill yours.' They take her asleep to the cemetery for cremation, but forget to take fire with them. The wife is afraid to go back alone, or to stay there alone, so both return to fetch the fire. The mother, on waking up, realizes the situation, gets up, and stretches upon her bed a corpse, which she covers up with a cloth. Then she escapes into a mountain cave. The couple return with fire, burn the corpse, and return home.

In the cave the mother-in-law finds a bundle which she secures for her own after some adventures. Extracting from it a garment and all sorts of jewels, she returns home. When questioned as to the source of her wealth, she craftily tells her daughter-in-law that all that are burned on a wooden pile in that cemetery receive the same. The daughter-in-law goes and burns herself.

This Jātaka story is repeated circumstantially in Parker, Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon, vol. iii, pp. 223 ff.

Somewhat differently, Chavannes, *Cinq Cent Contes et Apologues Chinois*, vol. iii, p. 141: A woman who wishes to kill her mother-in-law persuades her husband that if she be burnt she will be reborn as a divinity. They make a great fire, give a feast, and, when the people are gone, push the mother into the fire. She falls on a ledge of the trench in which the fire is built, and escapes. In the dark of the night she climbs up a tree for safety. Robbers come to the foot of the tree with valuables they have stolen, and, when she happens to sneeze, run off, taking her for a demon. In the morning she returns home with a heavy bundle of jewelry, abandoned by the robbers, tells the daughter-in-law that she had become a deity, had therefore received these valuables, and offers to send her also. The fire is made up afresh, the man pushes his wife into it, and she is burnt up.

That the controlling motif of this story is the 'Biter bit', rather than kākatāliya, may be seen from the Tibeto-Mongolian story, number eight, in the *Siddhi-Kür*, as reported by Jülg, *Kalmückische Märchen*, pp. 43 ff.: At the court of the

Khan Kuntshong live two rival artists, a painter and a wood-carver, their souls riven with hostility towards each other. One day the painter presents himself before the Khan with the following statement: 'Your deceased father has been reborn in the realm of the gods. Being called there, I went and beheld his immeasurable lustre and glory. Here is a letter from him addressed to you.' The Khan reads: 'To my son: After parting from life here, I was reborn in the realm of the gods, where I am living in plenty and superabundance. There is, however, one thing I stand in need of, namely, a wood-carver to erect a temple. Send therefore our own wood-carver; how to reach here is known to the painter.'

The story proceeds to tell, with reposed breadth, how the Khan cites the wood-carver into his presence; communicates to him his pending mission; how the carver scents the malign plot of the painter to destroy him; and how he determines to frustrate him. The painter tells the carver: 'Prepare all the tools needful for the practice of your art; heap a pyre of wood drenched with sesame-oil about yourself; and then reach heaven by mounting the pillar of smoke which will ascend from the pyre.' The carver agrees, and suggests as a convenient place of operation a field near his own house. Then he digs a tunnel from his house to the centre of the field, and covers its opening with a slab of stone, hidden under sod. On the day of the cremation the carver enters the pyre, and, under cover of the first smoke, escapes to his house, where he hides away for a month.

During that time he keeps in the shade, and nourishes himself with milk alone, so as to bleach his complexion. At the end of that time he dons a garment of transparent white silk, in which he presents himself to the Khan with the following letter from his father in heaven: 'My son, I am rejoiced that you are ruling your kingdom in piety and prosperity. In the erection of the temple up here the wood-carver has performed valuable services which are to be rewarded by you with abundant presents. Now, however, all sorts of decorations in paint are needed here in the temple; it is imperative that you promptly send the painter. The manner of ascent is as before.' The painter, on receiving the order of the Khan, and seeing the carver dressed in a garment of transparent white silk, adorned with jewels

which he has received as reward, believes the carver, and thinks that the needful light will come to him during his journey. All is arranged as before: the fire is made ready. The painter, unable to bear the torture, issues howls of pain which are lost in the joyous shouts of the multitude. He tries to jump, but tumbles back into the fire which roasts him entirely.

This story is a bridge between kākatāliya and 'Biter bit', which calls for a separate article in the Encyclopedia of Hindu fiction.

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*Postscript:* Dr. W. N. Brown draws my attention to another modern Hindu definition of kākatāliya, by Roy, in his Translation of Mahābhārata, Cāntiparvan 177 (p. 15, note). It is not very different from that of Mookerjea (see p. 14), yet descends somewhat from the height of fitness or patness, so characteristic of the fable's real meaning, to wit: 'Kākatāliyam is, literally, "after the manner of the crow and the palmyra fruit". The story is that once, when a crow perched upon a palmyra tree, a fruit (which had been ripe) fell down. The fruit fell because of its ripeness. It would be a mistake to accept the sitting of the crow as the cause of the fall. The perching was only an accident. Yet men frequently, in tracing causes, accept accidents for inducing causes. Such men are said to be deceived by the fallacy of the crow and the palmyra fruit'.

## II.—CURTIUS AND ARRIAN.

### PART I.

#### *The Narrative in Curtius.*

The story of Alexander is one of the most interesting that has come down to us from antiquity. To what he did and said there was added what he might have done and said, until the later presentations were a strange mixture of fact and fancy. If we judge his history as that of the Romans is judged we must hold that there were incorporated into it incidents not of Grecian origin. As the Romans found in Greek stories materials for the embellishment of their own history, so the Greeks incorporated into the history of Alexander incidents derived from the Hebrews. The story of the Queen of the Amazons was suggested by the Queen of Sheba episode. Onesicritus may be responsible for the transplanting to Grecian soil, but the ground for this belief is itself merely another story; see Plutarch, Alex. 46. Along with this story of the Amazon we may place the wonderful whale, Jonah's probably, which appeared while Alexander was besieging Tyre. It was, says Diodorus in 17, 41, 5 ἀπιστον τὸ μέγεθος, and after sporting on the waters for a while, dived beneath the waves, πάλιν δ' εἰς τὸ πέλαγος νηξάμενον, and was seen no more. These two stories were connected by the Greeks with Alexander's history, but we do not know whether we should assign to a Greek or to Curtius himself the fact stated in 5, 2, 7 signum . . . observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu. The true assignment is of little moment, though it has a Hebrew color as have the other two, and we may not be mistaken if we assume that in some way there had come to a Grecian transplanter the original of the words "by day in a pillar of cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire"; Exodus 13, 21.

Far more interesting than these stories are his deeds surpassing or paralleling those of his great predecessors. He emulated the actions of Perseus and Heracles (Arr. 3, 3, 1;

cf. 4, 28, 4), and safely passed through the desert to the temple of Ammon, though the army of Cambyses had been destroyed. Saving a part of his army from the desert of Gedrosia, he consoled himself with the fact that Semiramis had escaped with only twenty of her army, and Cyrus with only seven; Arrian 6, 24, 2. His attitude toward these two is well set forth in Curtius 7, 6, 20 non alium gentium illarum magis admiratus est, quam hunc regem et Samiramin, quos et magnitudine animi et claritate rerum longe emicuisse credebat. He showed his emulation of Liber Pater at Nysa (Curt. 8, 10), and in Carmania (Curt. 9, 10, 24). He passed beyond his limits in Scythia (Curt. 7, 9, 15; cf. 3, 10, 5), and to his mutinous soldiers in India he said, *Ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, qua Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si invidia afuerit, aequabo;* Curt. 9, 2, 29. These accounts came through the Greek, and we may hold that the motive given in Curt. 4, 6, 29 for the punishment of Betis was due to Curtius himself. His words are *per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi, gloriante rege, Achillen, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda.* This seems nothing more than an illustration of the truth of the words in Arr. 7, 14, 4. Καὶ κείρασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κόμην τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπεικότα τίθεμαι καὶ κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὅντα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμίᾳ αὐτῷ ἦν. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, De Compositione Verborum 18, has a short sketch of the siege of Gaza and of the punishment of Betis. He then gives the entire account from Hegesias stating, among other things, "Alexander ordered that a ring of bronze should be passed through his (Betis') feet and that he should be dragged round in a circular course, naked". Dionysius sets over against this Homer's portrayal of the treatment of Hector's body by Achilles, adding that in this "there is not one unimpressive or unworthy verse". The picturing by Vergil (Aen. 2, 273 *perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes*), who reproduces Homer (Il. 22, 397 *βοέους δ' ἔχηπτεν ιμάντας*, "hide-bands through the gashes he thrust"), would satisfy Dionysius, and it alone makes an application of the *φιλοτιμία* mentioned by Arrian.

The earliest writings about Alexander have perished, and we have little more in Greek than the collections of Diodorus,

Plutarch and Arrian, and in Latin the work of Curtius and the Epitome of Pompeius Trogus by Justinus. So far as the interdependence of these is concerned it is certain that Arrian made use of Plutarch, and his method was a protest against that of Diodorus. The best evidence showing that Curtius made use of Diodorus are some of the mistakes which appear in both. Arrian in 6, 4, 4 describes a scene at the juncture of the Acesines and the Hydaspes. But Diodorus in 17, 97, 1 places this at the juncture of the aforesaid rivers and the Indus—*τῆς συμβολῆς τῶν προειρημένων ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ*. Curtius begins 9, 4 with the statement from Arrian *perventum erat in regionem, in qua Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur*. There follows in sec. 4 hinc escensione facta CC et L stadia excessit, and then in sec. 8 he adapts and explains the words of Diodorus, *Quippe III flumina tota India praeter Gangen maxima munimento arcis adplicant undas. A septentrione Indus adluit, a meridie Acesines Hydaspi confunditur. Similar to this is Diod. 17, 104, 4 τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀρβίτας ὀνομαζομένους καὶ τὸν τὴν Κεδρωσίαν οἰκοῦντας . . . προσγγάγετο.* Curtius has in 9, 10, 5 Nonis castris in regionem Arabiton, inde totidem diebus in Cedrosiorum perventum est. Liber hic populus . . . . . dedidit se . . . . quam (*regionem*) emensus in Oritas transit. Here, as in the other passage, there is an evident blending of Arrian and Diodorus, with the error of the latter retained. The reference to Clitarchus in 9, 8, 15 LXXX milia Indorum in ea regione caesa Clitarchus est auctor, seems to indicate some research on the part of Curtius; but the same number is given in Diod. 17, 102, 6, and the reference to Clitarchus is made merely because Livy, in several passages, refers to Valerius Antias as his authority for the great slaughter of the enemies of the Romans. It is our object to show that Curtius, making direct use of Diodorus, also made use of the material found in the works of Arrian and of Plutarch.

The outline of the career of Alexander is fairly clear as given by Curtius. For the earliest part *fortuna* is predominant (Curt. 3, 6, 18), but the victory at Arbela was due to *virtus* (Curt. 4, 16, 27). The second stage is disgraced by his love of wine (Curt. 5, 7, 1), by feasts (Curt. 6, 2, 1), by the adoption of the customs of the Persians (Curt. 6, 6, 1), by the execution of Philotas (Curt. 6, 7 seqq.), and by the murder of Clitus

(Curt. 8, 1 seqq.). The Indian campaign opens with the scene at Nysa and closes with Carmania, the last before the tragic end at Babylon. In developing the work, Alexander must be over all, and for this reason it was at times not necessary to choose between differing accounts, for either phase presented had the same bearing on Alexander. It matters not whether the wife of Darius died just after the battle of Issus (Arr. 4, 20, 1) or just before the battle of Arbela; whether Bucephalus was stolen in the land of the Uxii (Arr. 5, 19, 6) or in the land of the Mardi (Diod. 17, 76, 7); whether he died at the battle with Porus or some time later; or whether the water-pouring incident took place in the desert of Sogdiana (Plut. Alex. 42), in the desert of Gedrosia (Arr. 6, 26, 1), or in Africa (Frontinus 1, 7, 7). The bearing on the character of Alexander was the same whether Darius offered to Philip in marriage a daughter (Plut. Alex. 19) or a sister; whether Alexander married Stateira (Diod. 17, 107, 6) or Barsine (Arr. 7, 4, 4); whether Leonnatus (Arr. 4, 12, 2) or Polyperchon ridiculed the Persians; or whether it was Nearchus or Meleager (Just. 13, 2, 6) who took part in the discussion of the leaders following the death of Alexander. In these and other instances of the same kind, an exact solution would not in any way affect the coloring of the picture, and it was coloring rather than accuracy for which Curtius was striving. Compare the slightly varying pictures in Curt. 4, 13, 16 and 7, 8, with Plut. Alex. 32.

From whatever source may have come the information given by Curtius, much of it is permeated with Roman color. His characters, otherwise known or unknown, act and talk with the air of characters portrayed by other Romans. In 4, 14, 18 he has Darius apply to Alexander an adaptation of the characterization by Livy in 9, 18, 8. In 4, 13, 8 he makes Alexander say, *furum . . . quippe illorum votum unicum est fallere*, reshaping a part of Hannibal's opinion of the Romans as given by Horace in Odes 4, 4, 51 *quos opimus | fallere et effugere est triumphus*. The characterization of Hannibal by his enemies in Livy 35, 42, 8-14 *exulem illum etc.* suggests the exile Patron as characterized by Bessus in Curt. 5, 12, 2. We find in Curt. 6, 11, 1 *erat inter duces manu strenuus Bolon quidam*, after whose speech, the king (sec. 9) *quamquam in*

vesperam inclinabat dies, tamen amicos convocari iubet. The suggestion for this episode comes from Tacitus, Annals 1, 16, 9 erat in castris Percennius quidam . . . flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterrium quemque congregare.

This method may not give the correct coloring to the narrative, but it may perhaps be justified as being within the proper limits of interpretation and of presentation in accordance with recognized types. But Curtius goes beyond this and applies his method to other features as well. In 4, 9, 5 is given a description of the chariots of Darius, based on Diod. 17, 53, 2. The Greek has *προσηλωμένα τῷ ζυγῷ ξύστρα παραμήκη τρισπίθαμα*; Curtius, utrimque a iugo ternos direxerat gladios, the entire description following Livy 37, 41, 7, rather than translating Diodorus. At times the narrative is so thoroughly Romanized that a comparison of the form of statement in Curtius with that of any Greek author is valueless, unless allowances be made for the Roman element. And in neglecting this some investigators have erred, as does Kaerst, Beiträge zur Quellenkritik des Q. Curtius Rufus, p. 13. This is also true of other parts of Curtius. Kaerst, p. 21, compares Arr. 6, 18, 4 Οὐκ ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πλοῦ, ὅτι πεφεύγεσαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ἰνδοί, ἀπορύτερα τὰ τοῦ κατάπλου ἦν . . . καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς κονφοτάτους ἐκπέμψας ἐς τὴν προσωτέρω τῆς ὁχθης χώραν ἔνταλμαζάνει τιὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐξηγοῦντο αὐτῷ τὸν πόρον, with Curt. 9, 8, 30 ducibus deinde sumptis; and 9, 9, 1 quia duces socordius adservati profugerant. The words do not indicate that Curtius misunderstood the Greek, but that he was mindful of Livy 27, 47, 9 duces parum intente adservati, alter . . . subsedit, alter . . . tranavit. The difference between Arr. 5, 20, 6 and Curt. 9, 1, 8 has a similar explanation. The Greek reads Ἡκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Πάρον ἄλλου τον ὑπάρχον Ἰνδῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Ἀβισάρην διὰ τάχους ἵέναι παρ' αὐτὸν κελεύει ἐπαπειλήσας, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὅψεται ἤκοντα ἔν τῇ στρατιῇ ἵνα οὐ χαιρήσει ιδών. Curtius has nuntiari iussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum, adapting a statement in Livy 21, 24, 4 nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum, but omitting the important conclusion given by Arrian. Both passages are cited by Fränkel, Quellen der Alexanderhistoriker, p. 236, and the conclusion is drawn from them "daraus sieht man, dass

auch hier Klitarch und Aristobul aus derselben Quelle (Onesicritus) geschöpft haben." Bearing in mind the passages from Livy, there is no need of going back of Arrian to find the source for the words of Curtius; compare Curt. 8, 1, 9 which translates Arr. 4, 15, 3 but omits *εἰ κελεύοιτο*. There is a similar relation between Arr. 2, 7, 1 Τὴν δὲ Ἰσσὸν κατασχών, δόσους διὰ νόσου ὑπολελειμμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέλαβε, τούτους χαλεπῷς αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν, and Curt. 3, 8, 15 quos omnis instinctu purpuratorum barbara feritate saevientium praecisis adustisque manibus circumduci . . . iussit, the suggestion for which came from Livy 30, 29, 2. The story of the death of Spitamenes in Arr. 4, 17, 7 is varied in Curt. 8, 3 in accordance with Livy's model; see A. J. P. XXXVI 407. The short account in Arr. 3, 7, 5 Ἀλλὰ διαβάνει τὸν πόρον, χαλεπῷς μὲν δι' ὁξύτητα τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδενὸς δὲ εἴργοντος, appears in Curt. 4, 9, 17-21 in eighteen lines, a mosaic from Livy, including sed neque consilium neque imperium accipi poterat, Livy having in 22, 5, 3 ceterum . . . nec . . . nec.

We have already shown (A. J. P. XXXVI 402 seqq.) that Curtius often borrows illustrative material from other Latin writers, and that he often gives his interpretation of events in parenthetic statements similar to those used by Livy: But of more importance are the passages in which he gives the causes of events and actions. Such statements are not common in Justinus, but are very noticeable in Curtius, especially those introduced by quippe. A few of the many possible illustrations must suffice: 4, 4, 10 in altissimam turrem ascendit ingenti animo, periculo maiore: quippe regio insigni et armis fulgentibus conspicuus unus praecipue telis petebatur. Compare Alexander in a similar situation as described in Arr. 6, 9, 5: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους στὰς κύκλῳ τε ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον πύρων ἐβάλλετο . . . δῆλος μὲν ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὃν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ ἀτόπῳ τῆς τόλμης; 4, 16, 8 Dareus . . . dubitavit, an solveret pontem, quippe hostem iam adfore nuntiabatur; 4, 16, 17 ne amnis quidem capiebat agmina . . . quippe ubi intravit animos pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare coeperunt; 4, 16, 20 pauci eum sequebantur ovantes victoria, quippe omnes hostes aut in fugam effusos aut in acie cecidisse credebant; 4, 16, 24 nec Persae inulti cadebant, quippe non universae acies . . . vehementius iniere certamen;

4, 16, 31 ne duces quidem copiarum sua laude fraudandi sunt: quippe vulnera, quae quisque exceptit, indicia virtutis sunt. Here Curtius adapts from Livy 27, 10, 7 ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur fraudenturve laude sua, and then gives his reason. Other particles are also used to introduce his interpretations, as in 4, 16, 27 ceterum hanc victoriam rex maiore ex parte virtuti, quam fortunae suae debuit. Nam et aciem peritissime instruxit et promptissime ipse pugnavit. This reminds us of what is said about Hannibal in Livy 30, 35, 5 singulari arte aciem eo die instruxisse. Similar to these are 3, 6, 17 namque haud facile dictu est, praeter ingenitam illi genti erga reges suos venerationem, quantum huius utique regis vel admirationi dediti fuerint vel caritate flagraverint; and 3, 3, 28 ergo Alexandro in acie miles non defuit. These are but a few of the many indications of Roman thinking woven into the account of Alexander. Though they are many, we believe, acting as interpreter of Curtius, that had we his own justification for writing his work, it would be based largely on the orations which he has introduced into it.

The rhetorical and Romanizing tendencies of Curtius are clearly seen in the speeches with which his work abounds. Compared with the narrative they are much more prominent than in Livy. In the army of Alexander there were no short-hand reporters, and no gazetteers to give harangues to the world. For this reason the writers of a later date were, in this respect, untrammeled by facts, and an imaginative Roman might be as successful as a Greek in inventing possible orations. A touch in 6, 11, 12 sermone habitu, cuius summa non edita est, can by inference be taken as a suggestion that other orations given were correctly reported. With this can be compared his words in 7, 8, 11 sed ut possit oratio eorum sperti, tamen fides nostra non debet: quare, utcumque sunt tradita, incorrupta preferemus. However, had Curtius wished his readers to believe that the oration was actually delivered, he should have omitted the words in sec. 23 Scytharum solitudines Graecis etiam proverbiis audio eludi, and those in sec. 21 non succurrit tibi, quamdiu circum Bactra haereas? a manifest adaptation of Livy 22, 39, 16 quamdiu pro Gereoni . . . moenibus sedet!

Curtius could not de-Livianize himself, and for him Livy is an ever-abounding source. Diodorus in 17, 33, 1, and, more

in detail, Arrian in 2, 10, 2, mentions the exhortation of Alexander to his troops at the battle of Issus. Curtius gives it, a page in length, in 3, 10, 4 seqq., drawing on Livy for material. Some legates tell Hannibal, according to Livy 23, 42, 5 *gloriantur Romani te ad unum modo ictum vigentem velut aculeo misso torpere*. This is one of the Livian touches in the speech of Darius, three pages in length, delivered at Arbela to his forces according to Curt. 4, 14, 13 *velut quaedam animalia emissio aculeo, torpet*. Later on Curtius in 6, 3, 11 assigns to Alexander the words *parva saepe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium*, a slight modification of a statement in the speech of Hanno, Livy 21, 3, 6 *ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitat*; cf. Florus I, 33, 2, *ut scintillae diffudisse quaedam belli incendia*. We find in the same speech (sec. 9) *et adhuc sic ago, tamquam, as in Livy 10, 8, 1 quid autem ego sic egi, tamquam*.

The speech of Hermolaus in Curt. 8, 7 is Greek in origin, for it fills out the outline given in Arr. 4, 14, 2, and has in sec. 14 *miraris, si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus? = καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἔτι ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρὶ φέρειν τὴν ὕβριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου*; and Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectat (sec. 12) is an adaptation of *καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν Μηδικήν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν τὴν βουλευθεῖσαν καὶ οὕπει πεπανυμένην, καὶ πότον τε καὶ ὑπνὸν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου*. Though the speech is that of a Greek it begins with the words *utor beneficio tuo et dico, quae nostris malis didici*, an adaptation of the words assigned to Hannibal in Livy 36, 7, 20 *bonis malisque meis didici*. The listeners interrupt (sec. 7) *obstrepunt subinde cuncti Hermolao*, just as Appius is interrupted, Livy 3, 49, 5 *decemviro obstrepitur*. It may also be noticed that the words in sec. 11 *novo more victores sub iugum mitteres*, reflects Roman and not Grecian custom. As an illustration of the utilization in other connections of short remarks we give the words of a seer in Curt. 9, 4, 29 *'ita prorsus futurum' respondisset*, recalling those of another seer in Livy 1, 36, 4 *profecto futurum dixisset*. As three-fourths of the work of Livy has been lost, it can never be determined exactly how much Curtius derived from him. But we can trace so much to Livy and to other Latin writers, that we may well call his work the contributions of a Roman to the history of Alexander. As we can not

separate all that is Roman, there must ever be a feeling of uncertainty in regard to the source of any particular passage. Because of his method, except in cases of evident translation, a study of his sources must be based largely on the facts he has stated. But what are the facts of Curtius?

The narrative of Curtius gives a mixture of geography and of history, using the latter in a very broad sense. The former, changing very little through the ages, might be given with greater accuracy near the time of Curtius than by men who were with Alexander. Some of the geographical facts given by Curtius might have been observed by himself, as the description of the Marsyas in 3, 1, 2-5; of the Sangarius in 3, 1, 12; of the Pylae in 3, 4, 2; and of Cilicia in 3, 4, 6-10. These and some other features might have been observed by him, but this is of little import. The real historical value of his work is in its presentation of facts. And what we call his facts are really a combination of fact and of fancy. It is a fact that the wife of Darius died in captivity; what purports to be his remarks when he heard of her death is fiction. It is also a fact that Darius was captured by Bessus and put to death by his orders; the speeches associated with the two are pieces of fiction. The statement of presumed facts are also of two kinds. Some give us the doings of Alexander and his associates; others set forth the acts of Persians, Bactrians, etc. The former may have originated with the actors or with eye-witnesses of the acts. They were at least committed to writing by Greeks, and were passed down in Grecian literary channels. How the Greeks found out the doings of the Persians when they were far away can not be told; and we may well view with some degree of suspicion the accounts of what took place in the camps of Darius and of Bessus. The illustrative material which Curtius has gathered from Roman sources may be ideally true, but *ab uno omnia disce* is not a safe historical guide. Probably several competent writers described the battle of Issus, but no accumulation of Grecian accounts could produce the Roman coloring found in the narrative of Curtius.

The description of the battle-cry in 3, 10, 2 iugis montium vastisque saltibus repercussus is a variation from Livy 21, 33, 6, and to this Curtius adds the comment: quippe semper cir-

cumiecta nemora petraeque, quantamcumque accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt. Livy in 30, 33, 8 says of the speech delivered by Hannibal at Zama, varia adhortatio erat; and Curtius reproduces this in sec. 4 varia oratione . . . milites adloquebatur. The idea presented in sec. 5 illos terrarum orbis liberatores, is from Hannibal's speech as given in Livy 21, 30, 3 ad liberandum orbem terrarum, just as *emensos* is changed from *emensam* in Livy 21, 30, 5. The simple statement in Livy 21, 43, 8 in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus, is changed by Curtius in sec. 6 to in praeruptis petris Illyriorum et Thraciae saxis. In the remainder of the chapter the incentives offered differ from those set forth by Hannibal, but there is equal variety in both.

The ideas and words of Livy are freely used in the description of the battle proper, Curt. 3, 11, 1-15. The construction with the opening words, iam . . . pervenerat, cum . . . invecti sunt, is Livian, but the following comment is that of Curtius: quippe Dareus equestri proelio decernere optabat, phalangem Macedonici exercitus robur esse coniectans. In sections 2 and 3 there are brought together and modified two phrases from Livy, 10, 19, 17 in medio pugnae discrimine; and 22, 48, 5 subductos ex media acie Numidas; while in sec. 4 the words *regem tuebantur* recall the scene portrayed in Livy 22, 6, 3. hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives.

Inaccurate statements and misinterpretations are both found; see Dosson, Quinte Curce, pp. 187 seqq. Some of these arise from an improper adjustment of the parts. We are told in 3, 5, 10 that Alexander was worried, quippe Dareum quinto die in Cilicia fore nuntiabatur. Yet we learn from a Darius section of the work beginning with 3, 7, 1 At Dareus nuntio de adversa valetudine eius accepto . . . ad Euphraten contendit iunctoque eo pontibus quinque tamen diebus traiecit exercitum Ciliciam occupare festinans. The five days mentioned in the first passage are taken up in crossing the Euphrates, to say nothing of the time required to carry the news to Babylon. To the same cause we may assign an incident mentioned in connection with the siege of Tyre. According to Arr. 2, 24, 5 some Carthaginian ambassadors were among the captives, and Curtius gives the same information in 4, 4, 18. But Diodorus in 17, 41, 1 tells us that during the siege the Tyrians voted to

send their wives, children and the aged to Carthage, yet owing to circumstances τέλος δὲ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν μέρος μὲν ἔφθασαν ὑπεκθέμενοι πρὸς τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, καταταχούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πολυχειρίας καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιώμαχοι συγηγαγκάσθησαν ὑπομεῖναι πανδημεὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν. Curtius in 4, 2, 10 and 4, 3, 19 tells us of two embassies, the latter reporting that the Syracusans were ravaging Africa and had pitched camp not far from the walls of Carthage. Immediately the Tyrians gave over their wives and children to be carried to Carthage. This introduces the Syracusan war at the wrong time, apparently removes the legates from Tyre, sends the women into a danger equal to that from which they were fleeing, and renders impossible the conditions described in Curt. 4, 4, 14 pueri virginesque tempa compleverant. Curtius says in 4, 9, 10 of the battlefield at Arbela equitabilis et vasta planities: ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum liberque prospectus oculorum etiam ad ea, quae procul recessere, permittitur. This repeats Arr. 3, 8, 7 with *equitabilis* for *ἰππάσιμα*. Yet we find in 4, 12, 23 nemora vallesque circumiectas terribili sono impleverat. In 4, 12, 14 there is described a sudden panic which fell upon the Macedonians, and in 4, 13, 13 Darius proclaims this fact to the Persians. We read in 4, 9, 2 idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit, Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis, quamcumque ipse adisset regionem, petiturum, although according to 4, 5, 8 this was a part of the answer of Alexander to Darius. He explains the origin of the Argyraspides in 8, 5, 4 (see Just. 12, 7, 5), but mentions them in 4, 13, 27, following Diod. 17, 57, 2.

Occasionally there is an evident lack of care in weighing the import of what is written. Curtius states in 5, 11, 7 Bessus quamquam erat Graeci sermonis ignarus, tamen stimulante conscientia indicium profecto Patronem detulisse credebat: et interpreti relato sermone Graeci exempta dubitatio est. As Patron had approached Darius without an interpreter (sec. 4) Bessus performed the impossible feat of remembering and reporting to the interpreter the words of a language which he did not understand. Equally inappropriate is the assignment to Ptolemy in 10, 6, 14 of the words, est, cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus. It must have been known to Curtius that Ptolemy himself had married a barbarian, for it is

expressly stated in Arr. 7, 4, 6, though Diodorus in 17, 107, 6 mentions only Hephaestion of the prominent leaders. Here also may be placed Curt. 5, 4, 11 sortis . . . ducem in Persidem ferentis viae Lycium civem fore. This is a translation of Diod. 17, 68, 5 Δύκιον μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος, but it takes the point from the declaration of the oracle as given by Plut. Alex. 37 "Οὐ φασιν, ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὴν Πυθίαν προεπεῖν, ὡς λύκος ἔσται καθηγεμὼν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορείας.

Other remarks are of a similar character. In 3, 5, 5 he borrows from Livy 30, 30, 1, and by the words, in tanto impetu cursuque rerum omnis aetatis ac memoriae clarissimum regem . . . deiectum, makes the soldiers anticipate the coming greatness of Alexander. Also the words in 3, 6, 10 sacro et venerabili ore, are in the spirit of later times, just as in 6, 2, 15 Hecatompylos, condita a Graecis. Because of the lack of marking material Alexander used grain to mark the line for the walls of Alexandria, and yet it is said of this in Curt. 4, 8, 6 ut Macedonum mos est. Just as if he were at Issus, Darius says in 4, 14, 11 coniuges quoque et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem, and finishes with a quotation from Livy. The remark in 6, 3, 16 quadridui nobis iter superest, is too far from the truth to justify its use even in an encouraging harangue. He tells of the marvelous bird and tower at Gaza, inlita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in qua alis haerentibus frustra se adlevare conatus a circumstantibus capitur, although Plut. Alex. 25 found in his sources only νευρίνοις κεκρυφάλοις.

The words of Plutarch in his introduction to the Alexander οὗτε γὰρ ιστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, might be modified to show the design of Curtius "historiam scribimus et vitam". For him the picturesque was as important as the practical, and in the attainment of this 1. *Names* and 2. *Numbers*, were of more importance than matters of 3. *Time* and 4. *Place*.

I. The use of names is the most interesting feature in the study of Curtius. Dosson, pp. 156-7, gives nearly a score of names found only in Curtius. As we know of these only from him, recognizing his interpretative tendencies, we may well believe that some of these are either special creations or specially colored for the picture. Of such are in 7, 3, 4 Amedines, scriba Darei; in 8, 14, 2 Hages, frater Pori; in 5, 13, 7 Melon, Darei interpres; in 8, 11, 5 Mylleas, scriba regis

(Alexandri). The following is pure conjecture; but something can be offered for the belief that the Charus of Curt. 8, 11 is an invention based on the story by Eratosthenes as told in Plut. Alex. 31, see also 58. Yet for the form the prototype is Verg. Aen. 9, 176 seqq. But does the belief that "Nisus et una | Euryalus" suggested Charus et Alexander (sec. 10) hang by too slender a thread? Notice the order of the names here, and the phraseology in v. 222 statione relicta . . . regemque requirunt: and in sec. 11 relictis stationibus . . . regem sequebantur; v. 386 evaserat: sec. 14 evaserant; v. 444 tum super exanimum sese proiecit (Nisus) amicum | confossum: sec. 16 Alexander . . . confossum undique obruitur. Quem ut Charus iacentem conspexit . . . super amici corpus procubuit exanimis. It is also to be noticed that an adaptation of v. 400 sese medios . . . in hostis | inferat occurs in Curt. 7, 7, 37.

Dosson also gives a still longer list of words the spelling of which differs from that found elsewhere. Some of these spellings may be due to original differences, for we find in Arr. 5, 20, 2 Γλαῦσαι from Ptolemy, and Γλαυγαῖκαι from Aristobulus; as also in Plut. Alex. 66 Σκιλλοῦσται and Ψιλτοῦκαι; Arr. 6, 19, 3 Κίλλοντα. Some of the Latin spellings may go back to Pompeius Trogus, for Justinus has in 12, 8, 9 Prasios, Gangaridas, as Curtius in 9, 2, 3 Gangaridas et Prasios eorumque regem esse Aggrammen; cf. Diod. 17, 93, 2 τῶν Ταβραισίων καὶ Γανδαριδῶν ἔθνος, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύειν Ξανδράμην. Arrian has Αὐτοφραδάτης in 3, 23, 7 and 4, 18, 2, for which in corresponding passages, 6, 4, 24 and 8, 3, 17, as well as in 4, 12, 9, Curtius has Phradates, as if the first part of the Greek name were αὐτός. The Latin spellings show many sheer variations from the Greek, and of the genesis of the spelling of such words there is no explanation except improper copying. Some will be given as illustrations; Curt. 3, 4, 1 Abistamenes: Arr. 2, 4, 2 Σαβίκτας; Curt. 8, 10, 19 Acadira: Arr. 4, 24, 6 Ἀριγαῖον; Curt. 8, 1, 3 Attinas: Arr. 4, 16, 6 Ἀριστόνικος; Curt. 8, 10, 22 Beira: Arr. 4, 27, 5 Βάζιρα; Curt. 7, 4, 8 Cobares: Diod. 17, 83, 7 Βαγωδάρας; Curt. 6, 7, 2 Dymnus: Diod. 17, 79, 1 Δίμνος: Plut. Alex. 49 Δίμνος; Curt. 8, 12, 1 Erix: Diod. 17, 86, 2 Ἀφρίκης; Curt. 8, 4, 1 Gazaba: Arr. 4, 17, 4 Γαβᾶς; Curt. 9, 1, 35 Hypasis, and 9, 1,

13 Hyarotis: Arrian has regularly Ὑφασις and Ὑδραύτης; Curt. 8, 11, 1 Nora: Arr. 4, 27, 5 Ὄρα; Curt. 8, 12, 5, Omphis: Arr. 5, 1, 3; 5, 2, 3 Ακονφες: Diod. 17, 86, 4 Μῶφις; Curt. 9, 8, 12 Porticanus: Arr. 6, 16, 1 Ὁξικανός; Curt. 10, 1, 22 Orsines: Arr. 6, 29, 2 Ὁρξίνης; Curt. 9, 4, 15 Sadrucae: Arr. 6, 4, 3 Ὁξυδράκαι; Curt. 6, 4, 4 Ziobetis: Diod. 17, 75, 2 Σιβούης; Curt. 8, 1, 8 Phrataphernes: Arr. 4, 15, 4 Φαρασμάνης; Arr. 5, 22, 3 τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ἀδραῖσται ἐκαλοῦντο: Indiae is misplaced and misinterpreted in Curt. 9, 8, 11 Inde Praestos, et ipsam Indiae gentem, perventum est, the translation giving a superfluous fact.

These examples indicate that disregard for accuracy or inability to attain it must be considered as a factor in studying the construction of the work of Curtius. Dosson, p. 187, calls attention to mistakes of Curtius, "qu'il confond φόβος avec φοῖβος et le traduit par Sol; . . . qu'il a dit 'Ozinem et Zariaspes nobiles Persas' prenant le nom d'un peuple pour le nom d'un rebelle". But we must acquit Curtius of one of these charges, for he said of Darius in 4, 13, 12 Solem et Mithrem sacramque et aeternum invocans ignem, while in Plut. Alex. 31 the sentence beginning Δαρεῖος μέν changes to Ἀλέξανδρος δέ . . . καὶ τῷ φόβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος. The second reference is to Curt. 9, 10, 19, whose words enclosing the quotation are A Cratero quoque nuntius venit . . . defectionem molientes oppressos a se in vinculis esse. The corresponding words of Arrian are in 6, 27, 3 Ἡδη δὲ εἰς Καρμανίαν ἤκουτος Ἀλεξάνδρου Κράτερος ἀφικνεῖται, τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἀμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ ὘ρδάνην τὸν ἀποστάντα καὶ νεωτερίσαντα συνειδηφώς. A mere glance at this shows considerable difference from the Latin, but the Greek has καὶ ὘ρδάνην . . . καὶ νεωτερίσαντα, and Curtius transformed them into Ozinen et Zariaspen, adding the explanation nobiles Persas. If this were the only instance of such a possible change it would not be worth mentioning; but there are others in which the alteration is clearly evident. We find in Curt. 6, 4, 23 quibus benigne exceptis ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erikyius occurunt. The words in Arr. 3, 23, 6 are Ἀρβας δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προήει ἐφ' Ὑρκανίας ὡς εἰς Ζαδράκαρτα πόλιν Ὑρκανίων, and continuing in the next sentence Craterus and Erikyius are mentioned. Here the participle Ἀρβας, in Curtius Arvas, has been taken as the limit

of motion with *προήει*, and the remainder of the sentence omitted. Similar to this is Curt. 3, 7, 5 ad urbem Mallum pervenit, inde alteris castris ad oppidum Catabolum, which translates a part and transforms a part of Arrian's statement in 2, 5, 9. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Μαλλὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ Ἀμφιλόχῳ ὅσα ἦραι ἐνήγγει· καὶ στασιάζοντας καταλαβὼν τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῖς κατέπαυσε. Curtius has taken the first participle for *σταδίους* with some numeral, and the second for the name of a town, and for the same reason as in the passage given above. Arrian has in 2, 13, 1 Ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἔχων τοὺς πάντας, ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν σπουδῇ ἥλαυνεν, ὡς τάχιστα μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιῆσαι, while Curtius has in 4, 1, 3 Onchas deinde pervenit, ubi excepere eum Graecorum quattuor milia. Onchas is “*non aliunde notum*”, and with good reason, for it is merely a mutilated Θάψακος. There is a strange statement in Curt. 9, 10, 7 urbem condidit, deductique sunt in eam Arachosii, but it is due to Diod. 17, 104, 7 πλησιόχωροι . . . προσεχώρησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ. Slightly different is Curt. 6, 7, 22 nobili iuveni—Metron erat ei nomen—whose solution is in Plut. Alex. 49 πρὸς ἑτερον. Curtius says in 8, 2, 34 cum equite processit; in sec. 19 cum toto exercitu venit, and in sec. 14 ipse Xenippa venit. We conjecture that Xenippa, on the borders of Scythia, is for ξὺν ιππεῦσι; see Arr. 3, 20, 4; 3, 21, 10; 3, 28, 2.

The practical suggestion from the preceding is that it is possible to correct some of the statements of Curtius by means of the words of Arrian. Curtius has in 10, 1, 39 Phradates regnum adfectasse suspectus occiditur. Phrataphernes was sent to relieve Phradates of his command (Arr. 4, 18, 2) and send him in custody to Alexander (Curt. 8, 3, 17). He returned later (Arr. 5, 20, 7), and it is improbable that the punishment of Phradates, if he were guilty, would be so long delayed. Notice the promptness of action in the case of Arsaces; Arr. 3, 29, 5; 4, 7, 1. The statement of Curtius immediatety follows the account of the punishment of Orsines who is mentioned in Arr. 6, 29, 2, a section which names Phrasaortes and Orsines, while sec. 3 states the death of Bar-yaxes Μῆδον συνειλημένον, ὅτι ὄρθην τὴν κίδαριν περιθέμενος βασιλέα προσείπεν αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ Μῆδων. It is evident that Curtius has confused Phrasaortes with Phradates, and assigned to him the

punishment inflicted on Baryaxes. Arrian states in 4, 1, 1 that one of the retainers, whose name was Berdes according to Curtius 7, 6, 12, was sent to the Scythians. His return is mentioned in Arrian 4, 15, 1-4 and Curtius 8, 1, 7-10. Both writers tell of the proposal that Alexander take a Scythian as wife. Arrian says that Pharasmenes, king of the Chorasmii, came at the same time, while Curtius has Phrataphernes, qui Chorasmii praerat. The latter statement seems to be the result of a two-fold confusion: Pharismenes, son of Phrataphernes (Arr. 6, 27, 3), was first taken for Pharasmenes, and then the name of the father was substituted for that of the son.

In Curt. 9, 10 also there are difficulties in regard to names. Sec. 20 has Menon instead of Thoas (Arr. 6, 27, 1), and Aspastes is mentioned in 21, and in 29 satrapes Aspastes, de quo ante dictum est, interfici iussus est. The information given is far different in Arr. 7, 4, 1 'Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀγροπάτην μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σατραπείαν ἐκπέμπει παρελθὼν ἐς Σουσα, Ἀβουλίτην δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ὁξάθρην, ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν Σουσίων, συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. The explanation of the difference is very easy. Curtius took only the first accusative given by Arrian and the last verb, and overlooked all that intervened.

In Arr. 4, 13, 4 is given the name of each of the conspirators with Hermolaus and also the name of his father, 'Ἀντίπατρόν τε τὸν Ἀσκληπιοδόρου τοῦ Συρίας σατραπεύσαντος καὶ Ἐπιμένην τὸν Ἀρσαίον καὶ Ἀντικλέα τὸν Θεοκρίτου καὶ Φιλώταν τὸν Κάρσιδος τοῦ Θρακός. This list of four is increased to seven in Curt. 8, 6, 9 Nicostratum, Antipatrum Asclepiodorumque et Philotan placuit adsumi: per hos adiecti sunt Anticles, Elaptonius et Epimenes. The position of Philotas in the list is different from that in Arrian, and Asclepiodorus is changed from the genitive to the accusative making one addition to the names. The order of the last names is the reverse of that in Arrian, and the strange name Elaptonius appears for Ἀρσαίον. The first name Nicostratus is a corruption of the participle σατραπεύσαντος, and is changed from its position in Arrian. After passing through the land of the Sudraceae and Malli, Alexander, according to Curt. 9, 8, 3 in fines Mallorum devehitur. Arrian has Σόγδαι in the parallel passage 6, 15, 4.

But the most noticeable of all the incorrect passages, 8, 9, 4-11, contains a description of the great rivers of India—the

Ganges, Indus, Acesines, Dyardines and Etymandrus. For the usual Greek *μέγιστος* (Diod. 17, 85, 3; Arr. 5, 6, 7), Curtius applies *eximus* to the Ganges. The description of the Etymandrus, *ab accolis rigantibus carpitur: ea causa est, cur tenues reliquias iam sine nomine in mare emittat*, corresponds to what Arrian says of it in 4, 6, 6. All these rivers, says Curtius in 8, 9, 3, rise in the Caucasus, and for this reason the Etymandrus ought to be a river of India. Even if it does not flow through India, Curtius is no more to be criticised for including it in the list, than is Longfellow for writing in *Evangeline*

Westward the Oregon flows and the Walleway and Owyhee  
Eastward, with devious course, among the Wind-river Mountains,  
Through the Sweet-water Valley precipitate leaps the Nebraska,

and then adding

Into this wonderful land, at the base of the Ozark Mountains,  
which are in Arkansas and Missouri. But the real difficulty in the passage is with Dyardines—minus celeber auditu est, quia per ultima Indiae currit: ceterum non crocodilos modo, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphinos ignotasque aliis gentibus beluas alit. The statements in Strabo 15, 696, and in Arr. 6, 1, 2 Πρότερον μέν γε ἐν τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ κροκοδείλους ὕδων, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν πλὴν Νείλου, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ὅχθαις τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου κυάμους πεφυκότας ὅποίους ἡ γῆ ἐκφέρει ἡ Αἴγυπτία, establish the fact that the words of Curtius apply to rivers along the route of Alexander. The description, Indus . . . Acesines eum auget: decursurum in mare *Indus* intercipit magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur, is puzzling, although a part translates Arr. 6, 4, 4 τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεται τε καὶ καχλάζει, referring to the Hydaspes and Acesines, and it is from the first part of the one and the last of the other that Curtius seems to have formed Dyardines. The patent defect is the omission of Hydaspes. Supplying this the reading should be, Indus . . . Acesines eum auget: decursum immanem Hydaspes intercipit . . . colliditur, quippe . . . cedunt; ceterum . . . alit. The sentence *Dyardines* to *currit* is merely a comment by Curtius needed to explain the unknown river Dyardines. The entire passage, sections 8 and 9, is a reproduction of Arr. 6, 1, 2 and 5; 6, 4, 4, and the modification in Strabo ἐν μὲν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ κροκοδείλους ὕδόντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ κυάμους Αἴγυπτίους. The difficulties arose from

the blending by Curtius of a part of Hydaspes and of Acesines into a new name Dyardines, with a mistranslation of *κνάμοντ*, which ought to bear the same relation to the Acesines as *κροκόδειλοντ* does to the Hydaspes. Hence non crocodilos modo, sed etiam delphinos, with the addition ignotasque aliis gentibus beluas.

But the use of names by Curtius is a matter of rhetorical art, not merely of technical structure. Back of this is the fact that he does not mention Seleucus to whom Justinus devotes 15, 4, and whom Arrian in 7, 22, 5 pronounces the greatest of the successors of Alexander. Arrian has in 5, 16, 3 τὴν φάλαγγα Σελεύκῳ καὶ Ἀντιγένῃ καὶ Ταύρων προσέταξεν ἄγεν, which appears in Curt. 8, 14, 15 Tu, Antigene, et tu, Leonnate, et Tauron, invehemini in mediam aciem, changing the order of the names; and similar changes are characteristic of the work. Examples are in Curt. 3, 9, 7 Meleager *et* Ptolemaeus: Arr. 2, 8, 4 reversed; Curt. 3, 9, 9 Thraces quoque *et* Cretenses: Arr. 2, 9, 3; Curt. 3, 11, 10 Atizyes *et* Rheomithres *et* Sabaces: Arr. 2, 11, 8 καὶ Πεομίθρης καὶ Ἀτιζόνης . . . καὶ Σανάκης. Diod. 17, 34, 5 has the same arrangement as Curtius, but Σανάκης for Sabaces which evidently came from Arrian; 4, 12, 7 Aribarzanes *et* Orontobates: Arr. 3, 8, 5; Curt. 7, 4, 23 Caranus *et* Erigyius: Arr. 3, 28, 2; Curt. 8, 5, 2 Haustanen *et* Catenen: Arr. 4, 22, 1. Fränkel, p. 287, quotes Curt. 5, 1, 43-45 and Diod. 17, 64, 5-6, and remarks "Hier harmonieren Curtius und Diodor fast vollständig mit einander". And the best proof of the harmony is the fact that Diodorus has the second and third of four names Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ Μένητα, while Curtius has Menetem *et* Apollodorum. The same method is also followed in dealing with longer passages, as in 4, 10, 8 dextra Tigrim habebat, a laeva montes quos Gordyaeos vocant: Arr. 3, 7, 7 Ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἦσαν διὰ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας χώρας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἔχων τὰ Γορδυνῶν ὅρη, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Τίγρητα.

The fact that Curtius has nearly a dozen ways of connecting three names indicates that he was ever on the lookout for the details of style. As an indication of his freedom in making combinations we give 5, 4, 20 Philotam *et* Coenon *cum* Amynta *et* Polyperconte; and in sec. 30 Philotas *cum* Polyperconte Amyntaque *et* Coeno; 6, 8, 17 Hephaestion *et* Craterus *et* Coenus *et* Erigyius; 6, 11, 10 Hephaestio autem *et* Craterus *et*

Coenus . . . Hephaestion cum Cratero et Coeno; 7, 7, 9 Hephaestio, Craterus et Erigius. Taken as a whole Arrian and Curtius have many more personal details than are given by Diodorus and Plutarch, and we cannot but feel that stylistic considerations influenced the selection by Curtius. We find in 8, 1, 1 Hephaestionem uni, Coenon alteri duces dederat; in sec. 10 Hephaestionem et Artabazum opperiens. This is a differentiation of Arr. 4, 16, 2 and 3, who names Coenus and Artabazus as leaders of one of the divisions. Curt. 7, 10, 10 Peucolao . . . relicto . . . Ptolemaeus et Melamnidas peditum III milia et equites mille adduxerunt mercede militatueros, is intended to reproduce Arr. 4, 7, 2 Ἡκον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Ἐπόκιλλος καὶ Μελαμίδας καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οἱ τὰ τε χρήματα <τὰ> ξὺν Μένητι πεμφθέντα καὶ τοὺς ἔνυμάχους ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατήγαγον.

The using of more names by Curtius than are found in Arrian is not infrequent. He has in 7, 3, 2 Caranum et Erigium cum Artabazo et Andronico, while Arr. 3, 28, 2 has three of these in different order, Ἀράβαζόν τε καὶ Ἐριγύνιον καὶ Κάρανον. It is perhaps proper that Curtius should have *cum Artabazo et Andronico*, for they are in reverse order in Arr. 3, 23, 9. Compare also with the four given in 5, 4, 20 and 30 (see above), the three given in Arr. 3, 18, 6 Ἀμύνταν δὲ καὶ Φιλώταν καὶ Κοῖνον. Fewer names are also used. Curtius has in 8, 6, 20 Epimenes . . . fratri suo Eurylocho . . . quid pararetur, aperit, omitting the intermediary Charicles mentioned by Arrian in 4, 13, 7 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἐπιμένης ὁ Ἀρσαίον τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φράζει τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαρικλεῖ τῷ Μενάνδρον, ἐραστῇ ἑαυτῷ γεγονότι· Χαρικλῆς δὲ φράζει Εύρυλόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπιμένους. καὶ ὁ Εύρυλοχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Δάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι καταλέγει ἀπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα· ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασε. Also in Curt. 4, 13, 28 Nicanor . . . Coenus . . . Polypercon . . . Amyntas, the names of Perdiccas and Meleager are omitted from the list given in Arr. 3, 11, 9. Agathon is mentioned in Curt. 5, 1, 43 and again in 10, 1, 1 isdem fere diebus Cleander et Sitalces et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem iussu regis occiderant. But we find in Arr. 6, 27, 3 Ἡκον δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ ὑπολειψέντες ἀμα Παρμενίωνι ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλέανδρός τε καὶ Σιτάλκης καὶ Ἡράκων, τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ οὗτοι ἄγοντες,

though in 3, 26, 3 he names Cleander, Sitalces and Menidas. It is possible that either Heracon or Menidas ought to be read in both passages of Arrian, though a parallel is offered by 3, 21, 10 where he has Σατιβαρξάνης, but in 3, 21, 1 Ναβαρξάνης, which is given several times by Curtius.

In reporting one incident at least we believe that Curtius has introduced an inference of his own. Two Greek accounts tell us that at a crisis in the battle of Arbela, Parmenio sent a message to Alexander: Plut. Alex. 32 ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Ἀ. ἀγγέλους φράζοντας; Arr. 3, 15, 1 πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀ. σπουδῇ ἀγγελοῦντα. The words of Curtius are in 4, 15, 6 propere igitur Polydamanta mittit. The participle used by Arrian in the singular justified Curtius in naming Polydamas as a messenger, in harmony with the statement in 7, 2, 11 Longe acceptissimus Parmenioni erat, proximus lateri in acie stare solitus. Curtius in 7, 11 names Cophes as the messenger to treat with Arimazes. We do not have the account of Diodorus, but as Arrian, usually very careful in giving names, mentions merely a herald in 4, 19, 3, it is possible that here also Curtius has supplied the name.

All the body-guards of Alexander are named as actors in important situations: Curt. 8, 14, 15 Ego (*Alexander*) Ptolemaeo Perdiccae et Hephaestione comitatus; 6, 8, 17 Perdiccas et Leonnatus, also in 10, 7, 8; 8, 1, 45-46 a Ptolemaeo et Perdicca inhibetur . . . Lysimachus et Leonnatus etiam lanceam abstulerunt; 8, 6, 22 Ptolemaeum ac Leonnatum; 9, 5, 15 Subit inde Timaeus et paulo post Leonnatus, huic Aristonous supervenit. The latter and Pithon are also mentioned in the discussion following the death of Alexander. Except for these two notices, and the fact that he is named as body-guard in Arr. 6, 28, 4 (compare 7, 5, 6) we might doubt the existence of Aristonus. His remark in 10, 6, 17 placere igitur, summam imperii ad Perdiccam deferri, foreshadows the action of Pithon in 10, 7, 8 consilium Perdiccae exequi coepit. It seems that Pithon should be read instead of Aristonus, unless we assume that Curtius used the name Aristonus merely to give to him the same artistic treatment as had been given to the ones mentioned above.

From what has been stated we may correct and explain the account in Curt. 9, 7, 12-14; and 9, 8, 1-2, the two parts being

separated by the story about Dioxippus. The parallel account is in Arr. 6, 14, 1-3. It states that 150 legates came to Alexander, bringing gifts, asking that he respect the freedom which had been maintained from the days of Dionysus, but agreeing to accept a satrap, pay tribute, and give hostages. Alexander asked for 1000 of their strongest men, which were sent together with 500 chariots and the outfit for them. Curtius in 9, 8, 1-2, names the gifts, and doubles the other items of Arrian—CCC erant equites, MXXX currus. But the latter is *prima facie* suspicious, for the XXX makes it altogether too definite. We find in 9, 7, 14 deditos in fidem accepit stipendio, quod Arachosiis utraque natio pensitabat, inposito. Praeterea II milia et D equites imperat. Without reference to what was to be written in the next chapter, this number seems calculated from Arrian's account, with three men to each chariot. The first part about the tribute is clearly wrong, for they had never been in bondage to any nation (Curt. 9, 7, 13). They brought gifts, and Alexander said that for tribute he would accept what they had brought. Read "stipendio, quod adhuc hospitiis utraque natio pensitabat, inposito."

There are three interpreted elements in Curt. 5, 1, 16 Alexander quartis castris ad Mennin urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est, ex qua fons ingentem bituminis vim effundit, adeo ut constet Babylonios muros ingentis operis huius fontis bitumine interlitos esse. A certain number of stades are interpreted as four days of easy marching, another Greek expression, as the city Mennin, and the conclusion with *constet* is the interpretation of the general situation. This section stands between two portions of Curtius, secs. 10-15 and 17-45, similar to Diod. 17, 64-65, 1. Justinus has nothing bearing on the question, for he sums up the entire movement from Arbela to Susa in 11, 14, 8 donatis refectisque militibus XXXIV diebus praedam recognovit—and Babylon is not mentioned. Arr. 3, 15, 5 and 16, 3-5 briefly states the main points, and there are found *σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἔξακοσίους* (15, 5), *εὐθύς* with finite verb, and *ἀπήντων* (16, 3). Plut. Alex. 35 has two pages about naphtha, and the suggestion about bitumen came to Curtius from a part of the first sentence *'Ἐπὶών δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπασαν εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην ἐθαύμασε μάλιστα τό τε*

χάσμα τοῦ πυρὸς [ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις,] ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς συνεχῶς ἀναφερομένου καὶ τὸ ρέμα τοῦ νάφθα . . . Curtius, because of Arrian apperception, or by deliberate narrative contamination of Arrian and Plutarch, saw the words of Plutarch partially Arrianized, and from these words came the Latin of section 16.

## 2. Numbers.

Most of the numbers found in Curtius are from Diodorus, but a few are from Arrian. Many are the variations from both, but some of them are incidental to copying, as in 6, 2, 9 XXVI *milia talentum proxima praeda redacta erant: e quibus duodecim milia in congiarium militum absunta sunt.* Par huic pecuniae summa custodum fraude subtracta est. This gives a part of Diod. 17, 74, 5 Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν γαζοφυλακούντων παρέλαβεν ὅκτακισχίλιων ταλάντων ἀριθμόν, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ νεμηθέντα τοῖς στρατιώταις σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἑκπώμασιν ὑπῆρχε μύρια καὶ τρισχίλια τάλαντα, τὰ δὲ διακλατέντα καὶ ἀρπαχθέντα πλείω τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπενοεῖτο. From it and Justinus 12, 1, 1 it can be seen that XIII should be restored in Curtius. That Curtius had a lively interest in the numbers given is shown by his reference to Clitarchus, and his remark in 5, 6, 8 *ingens captivae pecuniae modus traditur, prope ut fidem excedat.* Ceterum aut de aliis quoque dubitabimus aut credemus in huius urbis gaza fuisse C et XX *milia talentum: ad quae vehenda . . . iumenta et camelos et a Susis et a Babylone contrahi iussit.* Yet the number 120000 is given by Diod. 17, 71, 1. He is certainly to be commended for not reporting that of the *iumenta* there were according to Plut. Alex. 37 10000, and of camels 5000, or 3000 according to Diod. 17, 71, 2. These last numbers need not have astounded him for he makes Hermolaus say in 8, 7, 11 *at tibi XXX\** *milia mulorum captivum aurum vehunt, and in 7, 8, 8 he has 12000 rafts made in three days to carry across the Tanais the soldiers of Alexander, although many of them went across on inflated skins.* In 5, 3, 23 he has XXX for *τριακοσίους* which has slipped into the text in Diod. 17, 68, 3. He has in 5, 2, 11 L *milia talentum argenti non signati forma, sed rudi pondere,* translating Arr. 3, 16, 7, and varying from Diod. 17, 66, 1. Here Curtius followed Arrian, but at many points no harmony can be established for the numbers used by different writers of the history of Alexander. For this reason only a few points will be considered here.

It is an interesting fact that the writers show less desire to state the number of the Greeks than of the Persians, though the numbers given could not be verified. The object seems to have been to exalt the heroism of the Macedonians in the presence of a foe far outnumbering themselves. It might seem that, if not too astoundingly large, one guess was as good as another. The loss of the Persians at Issus is put at 110000, but Justinus in 12, 9, 10 distributes these among the killed and captured. Plut. Alex. 18 places the number in the army at 60000. Arrian has the same number in 2, 8, 8 with ἀλέγετο. Curtius does not give the sum, but the items in 3, 9, 1 are from Arrian. Contrasted with these Diod. 17, 31, 2 and Just. 11, 9, 1 have 50000. The statements of the loss at Arbela have no connection with each other: Curt. 4, 16, 26, 40000; Arr. 3, 15, 6 30000 (*ἀλέγοντο*); Diod. 17, 61, 3 90000. The number of men in the army as given in Plut. Al. 31 is 1000000; in Arr. 3, 8, 6, with ἀλέγετο, the same number, plus 40000 cavalry, practically the same as the 45000 given in Curt. 4, 12, 13; but for the infantry Curtius has DC milia; and Just. 11, 12, 5 CD, the reverse order of the letters. Diod. 17, 53, 3 has 900000. Plut. Alex. 66 says that there were 120000 infantry and 15000 cavalry in the army of Alexander at the close of the Indian campaign. Curt. 8, 5, 4 gives 120000 as the number at the beginning of the campaign. See also Arrian Ind. 19, 5 δώκεται μυριάδες αὐτῷ μάχιμοι εἴποντο.

Dosson, p. 188, N. 4, calls attention to Curt. 6, 6, 7 amicos vero et equites, hi namque principes militum, and suggests that ἑταῖροι ιππεῖς was probably mistaken for ἑταῖροι καὶ ιππεῖς. There is a mistake somewhat similar in Curt. 5, 4, 14 Cratero igitur ad custodiam relicto cum peditibus, quis adsueverat, et eis copiis, quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus M, assuming that there were 500 each of the bowmen and horsemen named in Arr. 3, 18, 4. There is the same explanation for Curt. 5, 12, 4: Arr. 3, 16, 2; Curt. 7, 6, 24: Arr. 4, 3, 7.

Arrian generally indicates the distance traveled by the days' journeys, and in some instances these are changed into stades by Curtius, 200, or 150, if the road is difficult, for each day's journey.

Agreement is noticeable at some points, as in Curt. 4, 10, 10 mille ferme: Arr. 3, 7, 7 οὐ πλείους ή χιλίους; Curt. 7, 5, 18

sexto demum die: Arr. 3, 29, 4 ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις. More frequently there is given a definite for the indefinite statement of the Greek: Curt. 3, 1, 8 sexaginta dierum inducias pacti: Arr. 1, 29, 2 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὡς ξυνέκειτο; Curt. 5, 4, 33 XL ferme equitibus: Arr. 3, 18, 9 ξὸν ὀλίγοις ἵππεῦσι; Curt. 6, 4, 2 additis DC equitibus et totidem sagittariis, reversing the order in which the two classes are put in Arr. 3, 23, 2 Κράτερον δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὖς καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἵππεων ἐπὶ Ταπούρων ἔστειλεν. Diodorus is followed in a larger number of instances: Curt. 5, 1, 39 XXXIIII dies; Just. 11, 14, 8: Diod. 17, 64 4 πλείους δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν; Curt. 5, 1, 40 cum nongentis\* octoginta\* equitibus: Diod. 17, 65, 1 ἵππεῖς δὲ βραχὺ λείποντες τῶν χιλίων; Curt. 9, 3, 21 equitum V milia: Diod. 17, 95, 4 οὐ πολὺ λείποντες τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων; Curt. 9, 4, 15 nonaginta milia peditum . . . equitum X milia nongentaeque quadrigae: Diod. 17, 98, 1 κατέλαβε τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἥθροικότας πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν ὀκτακισμυρίων, ἵππεῖς δὲ μυρίους, ἄρματα δ' ἑπτακόσια. Curt. 9, 6, 1 rex VII diebus curato vulnera: Diod. 17, 99, 5 ἐπὶ πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας. Compare the indefinite statement in Curt. 7, 9, 21 quadriduo rex longum itineris spatium emensus, with the definite one in Arr. 4, 6, 4 ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις διελθὼν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω προσῆγε τῇ πόλει.

The three stages at the siege of Pimprama are given in Arr. 5, 22, 3 to 24, 5; by Curtius in sixteen lines in 9, 1, 14 seqq. The latter account is interesting as stating the loss for one stage not mentioned by Arrian. There is also in Curt. 7, 3, 23 VII milibus Caucasiorum et Macedonum praeterea militibus, quorum opera uti desisset, permissum in novam urbem considere, a similar rhetorical dealing with Diod. 17, 83, 2 Κατώκισε δ' εἰς ταύτας τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἐπτακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἔκτὸς τάξεως συνακολούθουντων τρισχιλίους καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοὺς βουλομένους. But, although it may seem to transgress the limits of valid criticism, we believe that the statement in Curt. 10, 1, 19 imperavit . . . ad urbem Syriae Thapsacum septingentarum carinas navium ponere: septiremis (ἄπ. εἰρ.) omnes esse, is a rhetorical outgrowth of Plut. Alex. 68 Καὶ πλοῖα παντοδαπὰ περὶ Θάψακον ἐπήγγυτο, καὶ συνήγοντο ναῦται καὶ κυβερνῆται πανταχόθεν; cf. Arr. 7, 19, 3 and 23, 5. As the last word on this subject we can say that although Curtius may be inclined

to magnify numbers, as in 3, 11, 25 *ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat*: Arr. 2, 11, 9 *Καὶ ἀλλαὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τὸν ὁμοτίμων γυναικες οὐ πολλαί*, we must commend his moderation in 9, 3, 24 secundo amne defluxit, XL ferme stadia singulis diebus procedens, when we compare his words with Pliny, N. H. 6, 60 *proditur Alexandrum nullo die minus stadia DC navigasse Indo nec potuisse ante menses V enavigare adiectis paucis diebus.*

### 3. Time.

The question of time is of little moment except in giving the ethical shading to the portrait of Alexander, and it is for this reason that Curtius paid little attention to chronology, either in general, or in particular cases. He begins 6, 2, 1 *sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus . . . excepere eum voluptates*. This is the only indication that it was some time after the death of Darius. We find in 8, 12, 4 *hinc ad flumen Indum sextis decimis castris pervenit*, and there is no indication of either the time or place of starting. *Interea* does not always indicate the period, as in 7, 6, 1; nor *deinde* the time when, as in 4, 8, 12; 5, 13, 3; 7, 6, 11. Taken as a whole the time element is much less important than the local.

### 4. Place.

Curtius did not have an exact knowledge of the regions in which Alexander operated. In 3, 4, 10 he locates in Cilicia some places lying outside; in 5, 4, 7 has the Araxes flow into the Medus; in 7, 10, 15 has Alexander cross the Ochus and the Oxus on one march; in 9, 9, 10 names the Etymandrus among the rivers of India; and, as does Arrian, he frequently mentions the Tanais. Still he comments freely and inexactly on local conditions. He has in 5, 13, 1 Tabas—*oppidum est in Paraetacene ultima—pervenit*. According to Arr. 3, 19, 2, after entering P., Alexander came into Media on the 12th day (sec. 3), then into Ecbatana in three days (sec. 4), and into Ragae in eleven days (20, 2). In 6, 5, 24 he locates the land of the Amazons, *Hyrcaniae finitima . . . circa Thermodonta amnem Themiscyrae incolentium campos*, and adds that the Queen was the ruler of all between the Caucasus mountain and the Phasis river. The first part is given in reverse order

by Strabo 11, 5, 4 C 505, and the second part is a variation from Diodorus 17, 77, 1. Though they bordered on India, he says in 7, 3, 4 Arachosios quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet, subegit. When describing Bactria in 7, 4, 27 he speaks of the effect of the winds from the Pontic sea. We find in 5, 1, 11 euntibus a parte laeva *erat* Arabia, when it was on the right, and in the same way the right and left are sometimes confused in depicting battle scenes.

We read in Curt. 8, 12, 4 that when Alexander came to the Indus he found everything prepared for crossing; yet we are not told that he crossed. He then advanced to the Hydaspes, crossed, defeated Porus, and founded two cities—Curt. 9, 1, 6; Just. 12, 8, 8; Diod. 17, 89, 6; Arr. 5, 19, 4; but Plut. Alex. 61 mentions one. Arrian traces the course of Alexander from here to the Hypasis, stating his arrival at, and his crossing of, each river, both on the forward and the return march. Curtius tells of but one crossing in 9, 1, 8 hinc porro amne superato, without naming the river. Diod. 17, 90, 4 and Arr. 5, 21, 1 have *περάσας τὸν ποταμόν*, but Arrian mentions the Acesines in the preceding paragraph. We find in 9, 1, 12 hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyarotim; but Diod. 17, 90, 4 describes the region as a rich one, and Arr. 5, 21, 3 speaks of the flight of the inhabitants, so that *deserta* in Curtius must be taken as equal to *loca deserta fuga incolumitum*. According to Arr. 5, 29, 5 Alexander returned to the Hydaspes, and did some repairing of the cities he had founded. But we find in Just. 12, 9, 1 inde Alexander ad amnem Acesinem pergit; per hunc in Oceanum devehitur. Diod. 17, 95, 3 also brings him to the Acesines. If the account stopped here we should have to say that according to Diodorus the return trip stopped at the Acesines, but sec. 5 states that having finished the boats he named the cities he had founded (on the Hydaspes) and sailed down the river. Curtius has the following about the terminus: 9, 3, 20 ad flumen Acesinem locat castra; sec. 21 iam in aqua classis, quam aedificari iusserat, stabat; sec. 23 oppida quoque duo condidit. But 9, 1, 6 tells of the founding of the cities on the Hydaspes, and sections 3-5, of building the fleet. The case may be briefly summed up. The testimony of Arrian is clearly for the Hydaspes, though he admits in 5, 29, 3, that a city was founded on the

Acesines, and that some things were prepared for the journey to the Ocean. Justinus has an epitome of the evidence of Diodorus; but this is apparently contradictory, and that of Curtius is certainly so.

*Hinc* is freely used and the reference to preceding movements is often not clear, as in 6, 2, 12; 6, 4, 20 and 23; 7, 6, 10; 8, 12, 4; 9, 1, 8. Similar to these is 8, 10, 7 inde domita ignobili gente ad Nysam urbem pervenit.

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### III.—MAGNIFICAT AND BENEDICTUS.

ZDMG 58, 617–632<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the prototype of the *Magnificat* (Luke 1: 47–55). The so-called *Song of Hannah* (1 S 2: 1–10) refers to Zerubbabel:<sup>2</sup> he is the anointed whose horn JHVH exalts, the king to whom He imparts strength, whose foes He will shatter. JHVH will restore the Davidic kingdom; He can make a barren woman (Judah)<sup>3</sup> bear seven, while a fruitful mother (Persia) withers.<sup>4</sup>

From dust He raises the lowly,  
from the ash-heap He lifts up the needy,  
And makes him sit among nobles,  
and glorious thrones he inherits.<sup>5</sup>

Jerusalem was an ash-heap after the catastrophe of 586.

The tone of the *Song of Hannah* as well as of the *Magnificat* of Elisabeth (ZDMG 58, 617, l. 7) and the *Benedictus* of Zacharias (Luke 1: 68–79) is national rather than individual, and all three hymns are manifestly incongruous to the situation they are supposed to illustrate (ZDMG 58, 618, l. 7). Both the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus* were not composed by St. Luke, as Harnack (RE<sup>3</sup> 12, 73, l. 26; ZDMG 58, 628, n. 3) believed, but represent Hebrew psalms inserted by the compiler of the Judeo-Christian legends prefixed to the Third Gospel (EB 3342, 3; 3347, 13). Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae* (Berlin, 1904) disregards the first two chapters; his translation begins with c. 3.

For the abbreviations see vol. 39 of this JOURNAL, p. 306; cf. JBL 36, 75.

<sup>1</sup> Contrast ZDMG 58, 618, l. 10 and Gunkel's *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (1911) pp. 287, 340.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zech. 8: 4; JBL 32, 107, l. 7 and 110, l. 1; JHUC, No. 114, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the remarks on the rebellions in the provinces of the Persian empire after the assassination of Pseudo-Smerdis (522) in JBL 32, 107.

<sup>4</sup> See the translation and reconstruction of the Hebrew text in ZDMG 58, 621; cf. JBL 35, 157, below; also G. Jacob, *Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, p. 42, below; EB<sup>11</sup> 3, 624<sup>b</sup>, l. 29.

The *Magnificat* is a Maccabean psalm which may have been composed under the reign of Simon (142-135). The ταρείωσις τοῦ δούλου<sup>a</sup> αὐτοῦ (Luke 1: 48) is the Syrian persecution; the victory He gained with His arm (v. 51<sup>a</sup>) refers to the Maccabean victories; the proud He scattered (v. 51<sup>b</sup>) are the Greeks; the potentates whom He hurled from the thrones (v. 52<sup>a</sup>) are the kings of Syria, Antiochus V Eupator in 162 and Demetrius I Soter in 150, and the oppressed whom He exalted (v. 52<sup>b</sup>) are the Jews (*Mic.* 44, n. 6). We can hardly believe that the poet had in mind Alexander Balas (*Eccl.* 36, n. 9). Johannes Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen, 1907) 1, 419, *ad* 52, thinks that the potentates may allude to Pilate and Herod Antipas, and that the proud (v. 51) may be the members of the Sanhedrin, especially the high-priestly family of Annas and Caiaphas; but this view is untenable.

The Hebrew original of this Maccabean psalm may be restored and translated as follows:

וְקַרְושֵׁ שָׁמוֹ: 49<sup>b</sup>. 46<sup>a</sup> תְּגִדֵּל נֶפֶשִׁי לִיהוָה

וְתְּגִלֵּ רָוחֵיכֶם: 46<sup>b</sup>. 48<sup>a</sup> אִשְׁרְדָּאָה בְּעֵינֵי עֲבָרוֹ

לְדוֹרְ דּוֹרִים: 50 וְחִסְרֹוּ עַלְיִ יְרָאֵי

בְּיַאֲשָׁרָנוּ יְהֹרוֹתָו: 48<sup>b</sup>. 49 כִּי-גִדְלֹות עֲשָׂה-לִי שְׁךִי

פָּזָר גִּיאִם<sup>c</sup>: 51 בּוֹרְעֵוּ עֲשָׂה חִיל

וְיִרְמֵעֲנִים<sup>d</sup>: 52 הַוּרֵיד נְנַשִּׁים מִכְסָאתָם

וְרַעֲבִים מְלָא-טוֹב: 53<sup>a,b</sup> עַשְׁרִים שְׁלָחֵ רִיקָם

לְזַכְרֵ אֶת-רְחָמָיו: 54 תְּמָךְ בִּיְשָׂרָאֵל עֲבָרוֹ

לְאָבְרָהָם וּלְוֹרָעֵוּ: כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֱלֹהִים-אֲבוֹתֵינוּ

(א) כָּל  
(ב) כִּי הָנָה מִעֵתָה  
(ג) עַד-עוֹלָם

(א) 46 בְּאֱלֹהִי יִשְׁעֵי  
(ב) 51 בּוֹפּוֹת לְבָם

<sup>a</sup> Τῆς δούλου is an editorial adaptation. We need not assume that the original text was 'əni ben-əmaṭô (Pss. 86: 16; 116, 16).

<sup>b</sup> For the reading 'ənəñim cf. JBL 35, 156, 1. 2.

MAGNIFICAT.

- 46<sup>a</sup> My soul magnifies JHVH,  
49<sup>b</sup> holy is His name;  
48<sup>a</sup> For He noticed His servants' oppression,  
46<sup>b</sup> and my spirit rejoiced.<sup>a</sup>  
50 His mercy is on those who fear Him  
from generation to generation.

49 Great things did Shaddai<sup>s</sup> to me;  
48<sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup>ygenerations will bless me.  
51 With His arm He gained the victory,<sup>9</sup>  
He scattered the proud;<sup>9</sup>  
52 From their thrones He put down potentates,  
and exalted the oppressed.

53<sup>b</sup> The rich He sent away empty,<sup>10</sup>  
53<sup>a</sup> filled the hungry with good things.<sup>11</sup>  
54 He helped His servant Israel,  
not forgetting His mercy,<sup>12</sup>  
55 As He had promised unto our fathers,  
Abraham and his seed.<sup>13</sup>

This Maccabean hymn consists of three triplets with  $3+2$  beats in each line. There are not 16 hemistichs, but  $18=9$  *mēšalim* (JBL 36, 142). Westcott-Hort prints vv. 52 and

<sup>•</sup>For Šaddai = 'Eliôn, mountain-god, cf. WF 212.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. the translation of Ps. 60: 14 (=108: 14) in the Polychrome Bible; also the renderings of De Wette-Baur<sup>6</sup>, Grätz, Delitzsch, and FV 281. The Ethiopic version of the *Magnificat* has *gábra xájla ba-mazrátu*; see Ludolf's *Psalterium Davidis* (1701) pp. 334, 335.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e. g. 2 Mac. 3: 28; 4: 26. 42; 5: 7; 8: 11. 25. 36; 1 Mac. 15: 31; 16: 8.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 2 Mac. 10: 6; 1 Mac. 4: 56; AJSL 21, 136.

<sup>12</sup> From the Hebrew point of view it would be more accurate to translate: *He remembered His mercy, helping His servant Israel*; cf. the remarks on *dibbär lémór*, he said speaking, in JBL 34, 71 and below, n. 43.

<sup>11</sup> The Hebrew original did not mean: that He might remember mercy (as He spoke unto our fathers) toward Abraham and his seed (so RV). Contrast Plummer ad. loc.

53 as two hemistichs, but these two verses contain four hemistichs (or two *mēšalim*).

While the *Magnificat* is a Maccabean hymn, the original of the *Benedictus* is one of the earliest Hebrew psalms, written at the end of the Babylonian Captivity:<sup>14</sup> the child apostrophized in Luke 1: 76 is not John the Baptist, but Zerubbabel, the grandson of the last legitimate king of Judah, who was born, it may be supposed, in 538 when Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return to Jerusalem (JBL 32, 108, n. 3). There are far more references to Zerubbabel than is generally supposed. I pointed out twenty-five years ago (JHUC, No. 114, p. 110) that Ps. 110 was a glorification of Zerubbabel, and I have recently given a new translation of this poem, with restoration of the Hebrew text, in JSOR 2, 82. Ps. 110 was originally one of the *Songs of The Return*, but was afterwards replaced by Ps. 132 (JSOR 2, 76) which was composed for Zerubbabel's inauguration of the restoration of the Second Temple (JBL 33, 168). In JBL 37, parts 3 and 4 I have explained Ps. 21 which glorifies the coronation of Zerubbabel. Also Ps. 20 (JBL 37, parts 3 and 4) was written by one of his adherents.

Grätz (1883) believed that the author of Ps. 89 was Zerubbabel or one of his descendants; also Fr. W. Schultz (1888) thought of Zerubbabel. Ps. 89: 20-52 was composed after the suppression of Zerubbabel's rebellion in 519, and the preceding section (vv. 1-19) was afterwards prefixed for liturgical purposes. The original poem consists of lines with 3+3 beats, while the lines of the liturgical section have 2+2 beats. In vv. 17-19 we must omit *kol-hai-iôm*, *tifärt*, *birêçônëká*, and *Isra'él*.

OLZ 12, 67 I pointed out that the first four couplets of Is. 9: 1-6 praised Cyrus' edict permitting the Jews to return to Jerusalem, while the second four couplets hailed the birth of Zerubbabel in 538. In Mic. 51, † I stated that also Is. 11: 1-8 referred to Zerubbabel.<sup>15</sup> Mic. 54, n. 40 I showed that Mic. 5: 1. 3 was a quotation from a poem referring to Zerubbabel.

<sup>14</sup> There are no pre-Exilic psalms (JHUC, No. 163, 54<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>15</sup> Contrast Gesenius' *Jesaja* (1821) 1, 420, below.

Is. 11: 1-6 should be read and translated as follows:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| וְנִצְרָמַשְׁרֵשֵׁיו יִפְרֹחַ:         | 1. יְצַא־הָטָר מִגּוֹעַ יִשְׁיָּהּ;    |
| וְרוּחַ חֲכָמָה וּבִנָּה               | 2. וְנִחְתָּנוּ עַל־יְהוָה;            |
| רוּחַ־דָּעַת וַיַּרְא־תְּיִהּוּהָ: ]   | 3. וְרוּחַ עֲזָה וּנוּבָה;             |
| <br>וְהַאמְוָנָה חֶגְרוֹר חַלְצָיו:    | 4. וְהַיְה־צָדֵק אָזָור מִתְנִיו;      |
| וְלֹא לְאָזְנוֹ יַוְכִיחַ: ]           | 5. וְלֹא לְעֵינָיו יַשְׁפַּט;          |
| וּבְשִׁפְתּוֹ יִמְתַּר רְשָׁעָ:        | 6. וְהַכֶּה עָרֵין בְּפָיו;            |
| <br>וְעַל־מְעַנְתַּצְפּוֹן גַּמּוּלָי: | 7. וְשֻׁעַשְׁעַ יוֹנֵק עַל־חַרְפָּתָן; |
| וְנִמְרָעֵסְגָּרִי יַרְבֵּץ            | 8. וְנִמְרָעֵסְגָּרִי יַרְבֵּץ;        |
| וְנִעַרְעֵתָן נְהַגְּבָם: ]            | 9. { כְּפִיר וּמְרִיאָה } יְחִדוֹי }   |

(ג) משמע

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| וְהַוְכִיחַ בְּמִשְׂרָר לְעַנְנֵי־אָרֶץ | (א) 3. מראה                              |
| (ג) 8. יְדוֹ הָרָה                      | (ב) 4. שופט בצדך דלים                    |
| (ה) 6. וַעֲגָל                          | (ג) 5. שבט                               |
| יְחִדוֹי יַרְבֵּצָו יַלְדוֹקָן: ]       | (ד) 6. רוּח                              |
| כָּכָל הָרִי קְרָשִׁי                   | (ה) 7. וְפָרָה וְלֵב חַתְּרִיעִינָה      |
| [ג'][כְּפִים לִים סְבִּסִים: ]          | (ו) 8. לְאִירָעָנוּ וְלֹא יַשְׁחִיתָנוּ  |
|   | (ז) 9. כִּימְלָאָה וְאָרֶץ דָּעָה אָגָּה |

(א) 2. וְאוֹרִיהָ כְּכָרָא אַכְלָ-חַבָּן      (ב) 6. אֶת יְהוָה      (ג) 3. וְהַרְוָתָה יַרְאַת יְהִי

### THE SPROUT OF THE STUMP OF JESSE.

1. The stump of Jesse has sprouted,  
a shoot grows up from its roots;
2. Upon it will rest JHVH's spirit,  
a spirit of wise discernment,  
A spirit of counsel and valor,  
a spirit of reverent<sup>17</sup> awe. [ ]

<sup>17</sup> For *cif'on* see JBL 36, 82.

<sup>18</sup> *Da'at* means not only *knowledge*, but also *consideration*, *regard*, *respect*, *reverence*; cf. AJSL 19, 138. The primary meaning of *jadá'* is *to smell*, *scent*; cf. JBL 34, 72 and Arab. *náši'a*.

- 5 His hip-girdle will be Right,  
and Troth the belt of his loins ;  
3 He'll not judge a cause at "first blush,  
nor decide a case at first <sup>b</sup>ear,"  
4 But <sup>b</sup>his mouth will smite the ruffian,  
"his lips will slay the wicked.  
8 At the asp's hole sucklings will play,  
and weanlings <sup>b</sup>at the den of the viper,  
6 The wolf will lodge with the lamb,  
the leopard lie down with the kid,  
{ } Young lions and fatlings{<sup>7</sup>} will be comrades ; <sup>b</sup><sup>18</sup>  
a young boy will be their leader.<sup>19</sup>

- (a) 3 sight      (b) hearing      (d) 4 the rod of [with fairness  
(y) 4 He'll judge the lowly with rightness, and decide for the poor  
(e) the breath of      (g) 8 will put their hand      (y) 6 or calves  
(b) 7 The cow and the bear will be friends, their young will lie down  
together.<sup>xx</sup>  
(i) 9 They'll not commit evil or wrong on all my holy mountains,  
When the land is full of reverence<sup>λλ</sup> [<sup>μμ</sup>] as the waters cover the sea.

(xx) 7 the lion will eat straw like cattle  
(μμ) 3<sup>a</sup> it will be steeped<sup>20</sup> in the fear of יהוָה

(λλ) 9 for יהוָה

This zoological imagery, of course, must not be interpreted literally:<sup>20</sup> the poet simply meant to say that under the reign of the Davidic scion Zerubbabel the most disparate elements will be united; there will be no disparity, no incompatibility, no violence, no treachery. Therefore the young boy who will lead (v. 6) Judah in the future is called in Is. 9: 5 the *Prince of Weal*.<sup>21</sup> I have discussed some of the most difficult passages

<sup>18</sup> Lit. *will be at one*, in harmony.

<sup>19</sup> Lit. *drenched with*. This verb is construed with the accusative (GK<sup>22</sup> § 117, 2). The reading *uē-aruehū bišū'aṭî* in Ps. 91: 16 (GB<sup>16</sup> 736a) is improbable; cf. FV 277. **ס** has in Is. 11: 3<sup>a</sup> *έμπλήσει αὐτὸν*, **ג** *replebit eum*. The reading *henih-bô iir'at lähû* does not commend itself. Nor can we read *heshihô*, He will cause him to pay attention (JBL 36, 82, 1, 9). **מ** *härihô* cannot mean *his delight*; nor can *hérihô* signify *He inspired him* (GB<sup>16</sup> 748b).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Matt. 23: 33; 7: 15; BL 121, f. Grotius (1644) says: *Omnis haec locutiones figuratae significant altam et inconcussam pacem.*

<sup>21</sup> Du h m (1914) still thinks it possible that both Is. 9: 1-6 and 11: 1-8 are Isaianic; contrast the translations of the two poems in the Poly-chrome Bible.

of Is. 9: 1-6 and the prefixed Maccabean gloss (Is. 8: 23) in several of my papers, e. g. OLZ 12, 67; Mic. 48, below; 51, n. 30; JBL 32, 113, n. 23; 35, 283; 37, parts 3 and 4 (Heb. *mô'ēç*, counsel). This patriotic poem should be read and translated as follows:

<b>רְאוּ אֹורֶן קָוֵל יַנְגַּה עַלְיָם :</b>	<b>ו. "הַחֲלִכִים בְּחַשֵּׁךְ יְשִׁבֵּי מְאֻלָּמָות"</b>
<b>הַגְּרָלָתָה שְׁמָחָה כְּשָׁמָחוֹת בְּקַצְּרָה :</b>	<b>הַרְבִּיתָה גִּילָה שְׁמָחוֹ לְפָנֵיךְ</b>
<b>וְאַתְּ-מַט הַשְּׁקָמָיו כּוֹי הַחֲקָתָה :</b>	<b>כִּי-אַתְּ-עַל סְפָלוֹ וַיְשַׁבֵּט הַגְּנָשׁ</b>
<b>וְשִׁמְלָה מִגְּלָדָה מְאַכְלָתָ אָש :</b>	<b>וְכָל שָׁאָן-זְרֻעָשׁ וְהִיתָה לְצַרְפָה</b>
<b>וּבָנָ נְתַזְ-לָנו עַטְרָתָ הַמְשָׁרָה :</b>	<b>כִּי-ילְד יְלָד-לָנו וְתָהִי עַל-דָּרָאָשׁו</b>
<b>מוֹפְלָא מוֹעֵץ וִשְׁרָ שְׁלָום :</b>	<b>וַיָּקֹרְא שָׁמוֹ אַיְלָ-גְּבוּרִים אַבְיִזְעָד</b>

<sup>22</sup> For the reading *çolamôt* see AJSL 32, 66.

<sup>23</sup> For the prefixed *bô* (JBL 32, 112, n. 19) cf. *bî tamékâ jéminéka* (Ps. 63: 9)=ἐμοῦ ἀντελάβερο ἡ δεξιά σου, *me suscepit dextera tua*.

<sup>24</sup> Read *sôn-râ's*; see Est. 28. The corresponding Arab. *ša'n* (plur. *šu'ûn*) is used of the sutures of the cranium; but Lat. *sutor* denotes a *cobbler* or shoemaker.

<sup>25</sup> We need not read *ye-tih̄ê*; cf. GK<sup>25</sup> § 109, k.

<sup>26</sup> For *miśrâ* cf. my paper on *Masora* in JBL 37, parts 3 and 4.

וְلֹשָׁלוּם אִין-קֵץ}	לִירְבָּהּ הַמְשֻרָהּ}	וְעַל-מִמְלְכָתוֹ	�ַל-כֶּסֶף דָוד	6
לְסֻעְרָהּ בְמִשְׁפְטָה	מִעֲתָה וְעַד-עוֹלָם	קְנַאת יְהוָה	תַעֲשֶה זֹאת:	
(א) צְבָאות	(ב) כְּבָרִים	(ג) כְּדִימִים	(ד) עַם הָעֵם	
(א) צְבָאות	(ב) כְּדִימִים	(ג) כְּבָרִים	(ד) עַם הָעֵם	
[גְּלִילָן] דָרְךָ הִים (וְהַגּוּנוּ) עַבְרֵי הַיַּדְן מ 0 :	(א) כְּבָרִים	(ב) כְּדִימִים	(ג) עַם הָעֵם	
(א) צְבָאות	(ב) כְּבָרִים	(ג) כְּדִימִים	(ד) עַם הָעֵם	

## END OF EXILE AND BIRTH OF ZERUBBABEL-

- 9.** **1** "Those who walked in darkness  
    beheld a great light;<sup>30</sup>  
Those who dwelt in <sup>b</sup>gloom—  
    upon them it<sup>y</sup> dawned.

**2** Thou hast increased exultation,  
    hast given great joy;  
They joy over thee<sup>31</sup>  
    as men joy in harvest.<sup>32</sup>

**3** For the yoke they had to bear,  
    and the bow<sup>33</sup> they had to shoulder,  
The rod of the driver—  
    them thou hast broken.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For the prefixed emphatic *la-* see *Est.* 56, 1, 4; *JBL* 29, 105, n. 68; contrast *GK*<sup>22</sup> § 114, i, n. 1. Also the first word of the last couplet should be read *lis'adâh=la-is'adâh*, verily, he will support it.

<sup>29</sup> The reading *Midian* is due to dittoigraphy. For *îom-din* cf. *Abodesar*, 18a; *Snh.* 8a (BT 7, 856, l. 6; 27, l. 5)

<sup>29</sup> The omission of the feminine ending may be due to haplography.

<sup>30</sup> Vogel apud Grotium (1776) says: *Nexus orationis non ad tempora Sanheribi ducit, sed ad ea quae post captivitatem Babyloniam secutura sint.*

<sup>31</sup> Assyr. *ina pânika ixâdû* means *they welcome thee* (HW 270<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. my translation of Ps. 4 in AJSL 26, 5.

<sup>22</sup> For *bow* (=ox-bow) cf. JBL 36, 252.

4 Every clanking shoe<sup>24</sup>  
and cuirassed<sup>25</sup> corselet<sup>24</sup>  
Will go to the smelter  
to feed the fire.

5 A child is born to us,  
a son is given us,  
On whose head there will be  
the crown of sovereignty.

They'll give him the names<sup>25</sup>  
Wonderful Counselor,  
Captain, Father of the Flock,  
and Prince of Weal.

6 {Weal without end!}  
he'll increase the dominion{}  
Beyond David's throne  
and beyond his kingdom.<sup>26</sup>

'He'll support it with justice'  
from henceforth for ever.  
The zeal<sup>26</sup> of JHVH<sup>λ</sup>  
will carry this out.

- |  |                       |                |
|--|-----------------------|----------------|
| (a) 9. 1 the people  | (β) the land of       | (γ) light      |
| (δ) 2 Or as they exult   | in dividing spoil.    |                |
| (ε) 3 on the day of judgment   | (ξ) 4 shod with       | (η) with blood |
| (θ) 8. 23 aforetime the land of the Zebulunites and the land of the Naphtalites was disgraced, <sup>27</sup> but a <sup>28</sup> later <sup>29</sup> (king) rehabilitated [the region of] the Road to the Sea and (the peoples) across the Jordan []() <sup>29</sup> |                       |                |
| (ι) 9. 6 to establish it and   | (κ) and righteousness | (λ) Sabaoth    |

<sup>24</sup> Cf. BA 3, 174, ll. 14. 17; 6, 1, p. 99, l. 8; p. 100, l. 14.

<sup>25</sup> The phrases *to be called* or *to have a name* are used in Assyrian for *to be* (KB 6, 3; JBL 34, 46, 1. 6).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. ZDMG 61, 283, n. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Lit. *some one disgraced the land*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. GK<sup>29</sup> § 126, r.

<sup>29</sup> Lit. *latter*, posterior.

<sup>29</sup> See the explanation of this late Maccabean gloss in *Mic.* 49, l. 1.

The Hebrew original of the *Benedictus* (Luke 1: 68–79) was composed in the same meter and, as in Is. 9: 1–6, the first section refers to the termination of the Babylonian Captivity, while the second hails the birth of Zerubbabel. This patriotic poem, which was composed about 538, should be read and translated as follows:

אלהי ישראל וישלח־לו פרות: <sup>a</sup> קרן ישועה: <sup>b</sup> ומקף ישנאנינו: <sup>c</sup> לעברו בלי־פחד: <sup>d</sup>	ברוך יהוה כי־פרק את־עמו וירם לנו מיד אָבִינוּ להצילנו ולתתנו
עלון תקרה לפנות את־דריכינו: פקרנו בגנה: <sup>e</sup> בחשך וצלמות: אלהין את־רגלינו אל־דרך השלום:	ואתה הילך כי־תהלך לפנינו ברחמי אלהינו להאר לישבים ולהקין את־רגלינו

(א) ככ	(ב) יג ישועה	(ג) 69 בבית דור עבדו <sup>f</sup>
	ולוקר את־ברית <sup>gg</sup> :	(ד) 72 לעשות־חסר עם־אכובינו
ל אברהם אָבִינוּ:	(e) 74 מיד אַיִבְים	(ה) 75 את־חשבועה אשר־נסבע
בליקוי חיננו (ו) 76 נבייא (ז) יהוה	(ז) 75 בחתם <sup>ii</sup> לפניו	(ט) 77 לחתה לעמו
(ח) מפרום	(ח) אשר בהם	(ט) 78 חסר
(gg) 70 כאשר דבר בפי נביאו הכהנים אשר פועלם (jj) 75 קריש (oo) 75 ובגדמה		

## BENEDICTUS.

68 Blessed be JHVH,  
 the God of Israel,  
 Who has looked on His people,  
 and sent it redemption,

<sup>a</sup> οὐαῖσσεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ, <sup>b</sup> μα-‘ēbād lēh purqānā, but μαι-‘jā’s-lō pēdūl or μαι-‘jā’s pēdūlō would not be idiomatic Hebrew.

<sup>c</sup> Or sarhō; cf. Is. 60: 3.

- 69 And raised for us  
    a horn of deliverance<sup>a</sup>

71 <sup>b</sup>From the power of our foes,  
    from the hand of <sup>c</sup>your enemies,<sup>d</sup>

74 To set us free<sup>e</sup> and permit us<sup>f</sup>  
    to serve Him without fear.<sup>g</sup>

76 And thou, O child,  
    wilt be called<sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup>exalted,  
Thou'l walk before us<sup>j</sup>  
    to clear our ways.<sup>k</sup><sup>l</sup>

78 Through our God's "mercy"  
    the dayspring<sup>m</sup> has looked on us,

79 To bring light to the tenants  
    of darkness and gloom,  
And guide our steps  
    to the path of weal.

(a) 69 in the house of His servant David<sup>vv</sup>

(8) 72 Showing mercy to our fathers and remembering His  
73 The oath he had sworn to our father Abraham.

(e) 74 from the power of our foes

(r) 75 In purity<sup>oo</sup> before Him

(*κ*) tender (*λ*) whereby (*μ*) from above

(vv) 70 as He had spoken through the mouth of His holy prophets in times of yore  
(EE) 72 holy (oo) 75 and righteousness

The *Benedictus* comprises two pentastichs, not five couplets as Holtzmann supposed. Plummer's statement that this hymn is modeled on the prophecies, whereas the *Magnificat* is modeled on the psalms, is gratuitous; nor is it true that the tone of the *Benedictus* is sacerdotal, and that of the *Magnificat* regal. The *Benedictus* is more regal than the *Magnificat*, and the *Magnificat* more sacerdotal than the *Benedictus*.

*"It would be more accurate to translate: He set us free and permitted us to serve Him without fear, raising for us a horn of deliverance from the power of our foes, from the hand of our enemies; cf. above, n. 12.*

"That is, Thou wilt be our leader in removing all obstacles to the restoration of Judah.

The *redemption* in the second line of the *Benedictus* is the termination of the Babylonian Captivity; the *horn of deliverance* is Cyrus;<sup>45</sup> the *foes* are the Babylonians;<sup>46</sup> the *tenants of darkness and gloom* are the Jewish exiles in Babylonia. The compiler of the Judeo-Christian legends prefixed to the Third Gospel,<sup>47</sup> who inserted this ancient Hebrew hymn, may have inserted  $\eta$  which spoils the rhythm; he may also have added  $\nu\nu$ , and he may have changed the possessive suffixes of the first person plural in the fourth line of the first pentastich into the third person singular;  $\beta$  was inserted after the third line of the first pentastich had been severed from the fourth line by the insertion of  $\alpha$  and  $\nu\nu$ . Also  $\zeta$  and  $\iota$  may have been added by the compiler, but the other glosses had probably been incorporated in the original Hebrew text which the compiler had before him. The received text of the Hebrew Psalter exhibits a great many secondary additions, many of which had no doubt become a part of the text before the hymns were collected by the redactors of the Psalter.<sup>48</sup> The compiler of the legends of the birth of John the Baptist and the Nativity of Christ did not use Greek versions of the Hebrew psalms introduced as the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus*: these legends were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and the hymns were inserted in their original Hebrew text, and translated into Greek when the introductory legends prefixed to the Third Gospel were Grecized.<sup>49</sup>

The  $\pi\alpha\delta\delta\sigma\omega$  in v. 76 is the new-born Davidic scion Zerubbabel; it does not refer to Israel, but corresponds to the *jäld* in Is. 9: 5; it is not an editorial adaptation for  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\tilde{s}$ =Heb.  $\ddot{a}bd$ ; nor is the second pentastich (vv. 76-79) a Christian addition to an original Jewish Messianic song.<sup>50</sup>

PAUL HAUPT.

<sup>45</sup> The Zionists might call President Wilson a *horn of deliverance*.

<sup>46</sup> Not the Romans, as J. Weiss (*cf. above*, p. 65) thinks (*op. cit.* I, 421, *ad* 71).

<sup>47</sup> Plummer thinks it possible that the Virgin Mary may have been the writer of the documents used in the first two chapters.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. e. g. my interpretation of Ps. 90 in JBL 31, 123 or Ps. 68 in AJSL 23, 239. For my arrangement of the Biblical poems in groups of stanzas (Assyr. *šēru*=Arab. *sūrah*; cf. EB<sup>11</sup> 15, 898b, l. 14) and larger divisions *cf.* p. 5 of Zimmermann's *Ištar und Šaltu* (Leipsic, 1916).

<sup>49</sup> Additional comments on the *Benedictus* and the other hymns briefly discussed in the present paper are given in an article *The Child in Luke 1, 76* which will be published elsewhere.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. JBL 21, 50; ZDMG 58, 628, n. 6.

#### IV.—DRAVIDIAN S.

The importance of the sound *s* for Dravidian philology seems to have been generally overlooked. In southern Dravidian, 5 and 6 begin with vowels. Two of the northern languages have native numerals above 4, and in both of them 5 and 6 begin with *s*. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar explains the *s* of these numerals as a "euphonic prefix." The models found in Greek and Eranian allow us to construct a more useful theory of Dravidian *s*. An early *s* was regularly changed to *h* in the south, and sometimes in the north; afterward the sound *h* was often lost, as it has been in modern Greek. We must therefore look into northern Dravidian, if we wish to understand the history of the southern languages.

The chief northern divisions are Brâhui, Gôndi, Kui, Kurukh-Malto. The isolated Brâhui, spoken in the extreme northwest near the Afghan border, is more closely akin to Kurukh-Malto than to any other division, according to Konow, who compiled the Dravidian section of the Linguistic Survey of India. Aside from Brâhui, the northern speech-districts adjoin those of the Kolarian or Munda family, lying in the region south of the Ganges. Former contact with Kolarian seems to be implied by Brâhui *urā* (house), beside *urā* (house) in Kûrku, the westernmost of the Kolarian tongues. Brâhui *urā* is probably connected with Gôndi *rōn* (house) and southern *ūr*, *ūru* (village).<sup>1</sup>

The southern languages are Kanara, Kêlan, Tamil, Telugu, Tulu. Kêlan might be called a Tamil dialect, if it had not developed a separate literature. The greater conservatism of the southern languages is shown by the native numerals, including words for 100: Kanara *nūru*, Tamil *nūdrū*, Telugu *nūru*, Tulu *nādu*<\**nātro*. But Aryan elements are of course mixed in with the vocabulary, and we may suspect traces of Kolarian influence too. Besides such words as Telugu *nippu*=Tamil

<sup>1</sup> A good account of Brâhui is to be found in Bray's Grammar (Calcutta, 1909). For the other northern languages I have used mainly the Linguistic Survey, vol. 4 (Calcutta, 1906).

*neruppu* (fire), Kanara *kircu* (fire), and Kanara *benki* (fire) connected with *bē-*=Tamil *vē-* (burn), we find Tulu *tū*=Tamil *ti* (fire). These last look like relatives of Savara *to*, *tōgi* (fire), recorded in the Kolarian word-lists of the Linguistic Survey, vol. 4, p. 251. It is remarkable that the other Kolarian languages have words meaning 'fire' entirely different from Savara *to*, *tōgi*, and that similar words occur in Indo-Chinese: *tu*, *to*, *tæ*, *te*.<sup>1</sup> In any case the Tulu *ū* implies a change of *oi* or *ui* to *i* in Tamil.<sup>2</sup>

Kanara and Telugu have alphabets fundamentally the same, differing hardly more than our script and print. Their spellings agree fairly well with modern speech, and may be assumed to represent the older sounds. The letters corresponding to palatal occlusives, here transliterated *c* and *ζ*, may have been read as affricates when these languages were first written. Early Kanara and Telugu have a letter that may be called the *ṛ*-symbol. It was probably sounded like Castilian *rr*; the modern languages use the ordinary *r*-symbol instead of *ṛ*. Kanara now uses *l* (reverted *l*) for the older *r* (reverted *r*). Spoken Kanara has affricates like those of English *charge*, and spoken Telugu has *ts*, *dz*, or intermediate sounds, where the spelling indicates the simple occlusives *c* and *ζ*. The occlusive element is lengthened where the written symbol is doubled; popular transcriptions such as "chch" and "tsts", unfortunately used in serious works dealing with these languages, imply sound-groups impossible in the southern Dravidian languages.<sup>3</sup>

The Kanara alphabet has been adopted for Tulu, the non-

<sup>1</sup> *T'coung-pao*, vol. 17, p. 42 (mars, 1916).

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Caldwell's Comparative Grammar and the Linguistic Survey, I have used the following works for southern Dravidian: Kittel, Kannada-English Dictionary (Mangalore, 1894); Arden, Tamil Grammar (Vepery, 1910); Pope, Tamil-English Dictionary (Oxford, 1905); Pope, Tamil Handbook (Oxford, 1911); Pope, The 'Sacred' Kurral (London, 1886), with a translation and a vocabulary; Vinson, Manuel de la langue tamoule (Paris, 1903); Wickremasinghe, Tamil Grammar (London, 1906); Morris, Telugu Grammar (London, 1890).

<sup>3</sup> Similar mis-transcriptions are common also in books dealing with northern Dravidian: here the lack of native literatures forbids even the use of *cc* and *ζζ*, justified by historic reasons in the literary languages of the south.

literary member of the southern group, spoken around Mangalore on the west coast. Where Kanara spelling differs from the modern sounds, Tulu should be transcribed in accordance with the sounds. Thus we must use *tš*, *ttš*, *dž*, *ddž*, in transcriptions of Tulu, not *c*, *cc*, *č*, *čč*, as in Kanara; and initial *je*, *jē*, *wo*, *wō*, instead of the simple vowels represented by Kanara spelling. In the southern languages the sound *j* (=y in *you*) is added as a hiatus-filler before palatal vowels, and *w* or *v* (<*w*) before labial vowels, when the preceding word ends in a vowel that cannot be elided. These added sounds are often kept in speech after a pause; in the written forms of isolated words, the ordinary spellings of Kanara and Tamil use the vowel-symbols alone. In Tulu the added sounds have apparently become fixed. Tulu seems to have the sound *w* where the *v*-symbol of the Kanara alphabet is written. The distinction of *v* and *w* is not clear, even in the Aryan languages. Sanskrit has a single symbol for *w* and for *v*, the latter having replaced the former except after less sonorous sounds.<sup>1</sup> In Marāti the *v*-sound is said to be rather weak (bi-labial?), and English *v* is transcribed as *vh*.<sup>2</sup> Caldwell tells us that *w* is generally used for *v* in spoken Kanara, and sometimes in Tamil. Indoportuguese has changed *v* to *w*,<sup>3</sup> evidently under the influence of neighboring Aryan or Dravidian tongues. Thus it is possible that the old *w*, or the intermediate bi-labial *v*, has been kept in many regions of India. As the native alphabets fail to distinguish *v* and *w*, the history of these sounds is obscure.<sup>4</sup>

The Tamil alphabet was at first used for writing Sanskrit. This is shown by its former lack of symbols distinguishing the quantity of long and short *e* and *o*. In early Dravidian these vowels could be short or long; but the short vowels did not occur in Sanskrit. Written Latin can be understood without length-marks: in the same way the quantity of *e* and *o* was left

<sup>1</sup> Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 57 (Boston, 1891).

<sup>2</sup> Bloch, Formation de la langue marathe, § 153 (Paris, 1915).

<sup>3</sup> Revista lusitana, vol. 6, p. 67; vol. 9, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> My direct source for Tulu is the *posa wođambadike* (New Testament) published by the B. and F. Bible Society, printed at the Basel Mission Press (Mangalore, 1894). Indirect sources are the Grammar of Brigel, as quoted by Caldwell, and the Dictionary of Männer, as quoted by Kittel. The Linguistic Survey omits Tulu.

for the reader to guess, when the Tamil alphabet came to be used for Tamil. The modern use of modified symbols for Tamil *ē* and *ō* is ascribed to the influence of Beschi (an Italian missionary) and other Europeans, who naturally felt the need of such symbols more than natives would.

It is generally held that Sanskrit *ghōṭa* (horse) is a Dravidian loan-word, connected with the equivalent Kanara *kudure*, Tamil *kudirai*, Telugu *gurramu*.<sup>1</sup> Formally it belongs with Kanara *karte*, Tamil *karudai*, Telugu *gādide* (ass), derived from \**ghazotas*. Sanskrit developed the stem \**ghazuta*> \**ghauta*, with *t* for *t* by assimilation to *z*, a sound which afterward disappeared from Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup> We may assume that the horse was once unknown in India: when it was introduced, Dravidians at first gave it the name of its relative, \**ghazotas*, and some of the Aryans borrowed the word in its altered sense. The old meaning is kept in two later loan-words, with *r* for Dravidian *r* (<*z*), Sanskrit *khara* and *gardabha*. The *kh* corresponds to the Tamil unvoicing of occlusives or the Kanara unvoicing of aspirates; *g-bh* instead of *gh-bh* was a normal development in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup> Dravidian \**ghuteras* (horse) meant 'runner' like our *horse* beside Latin *curr-<\*kurs-*: the verb-root *kud-<\*ghut-* is seen in Kanara *kuduku-* (trot), Tamil *kudi-* (leap).<sup>4</sup>

The consonant-system of ancient Dravidian was nearly the same as that of Sanskrit. The early use of aspirated occlusives, now rare in the south and unknown in Tamil, is shown by the evidence mentioned above. All occlusives became voiceless in Tamil more than two thousand years ago; afterward simple occlusives became voiced between voiced sounds. The basis of Tamil spelling goes back to the time when all occlusives were

<sup>1</sup> Kittel, K. Dictionary, p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 222.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 155. The Aryans perhaps mistook the ending of later \**kharotas* for a demonstrative, and therefore dropped it. The ending of *gardabha* may have come from the synonym *rāsabha*.

<sup>4</sup> The form \**khuteras*, a normal development from \**ghuteras* in some of the Dravidian tongues, corresponds to loan-words found in southern Kolarian: Gadaba *krutā*, Savara *kurtā*. Gōndī *kōrā* is a composite of such a *k*-form and the Aryan word represented by Kui *gōrā*, Kurukh *ghōrō*. The *gh* of older \**ghuteras* (preserved by Aryan mediation?) is found in Gōndī *ghuriā*=Kurukh *ghurī* (mare).

voiceless. Tamil has developed no distinctive voiced occlusives, and can therefore get along with a spelling that represents all occlusives as voiceless sounds. But spelling has been adapted to speech where the occlusives became fricatives ( $c>\zeta>j$  and  $p>b>v$ ). Because of other possible changes, it would hardly be safe to transliterate the spelling mechanically. Thus if we wrote '*atu*' for *adu*=Kanara *adu* (that thing), on the ground that the Tamil consonant-letter really means *t*, we might be inventing an unreasonable form. We know nothing about the relative chronology of  $t>d$  and  $o>u$ ; the ancient Kanara-Tamil form was perhaps \**ato*, or \**ate*=Telugu *adi*.

Early Tamil has a letter representing *h*, now read as the velar fricative *x* (=Russian *x* before *a*). The eighteen consonant-letters of ordinary Tamil may be transliterated *k* (*g*), *ŋ*, *c* (*ζ*), *ñ*, *t* (*d*), *n*, *t* (*d*), *n*, *p* (*b*), *m*, *j*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *r*, *l*, *r* (*rt*, *tr*, *dr*), *n*. A few other letters may be added in the Tamil spelling of Aryan loan-words: they correspond to the Sanskrit symbols for *ξ* (read as *dž*), *s*, *s*, *h*. Spoken Tamil has the velar fricative *γ* for *g<k* between vowels; in the extreme south, *h* may replace *γ*. The age of *γ* is uncertain: as Sanskrit had no *γ*, ancient Tamil spelling would not have used a separate symbol for such a non-distinctive sound. Initial *c* has developed thru *cç* to *ç* and *š* in spoken Tamil. The same medial sound-change, with a formation of *cç* earlier than the voicing of occlusives between vowels, was widespread in spoken Tamil, so that the *c*-symbol now represents *ç* or *š* between vowels. The older affricate, resembling English *tch*, is used for *cc* and for *c* following another occlusive. The group written as *ñc* corresponds to spoken *ndž*: occlusives were voiced after nasals earlier than between vowels. Where *j* stands for pre-literary *c*, it indicates dialect-mixture: in a portion of the Tamilian territory, medial *c* following a vowel was (like the *c* of the group *ñc*) changed to *ζ* before initial *cç* was developed from *c*. Medial *cç* was not subject to voicing; medial *c* became *ζ* where it did not undergo an earlier change to *cç*.<sup>1</sup>

The distinction of two *n*-symbols in Tamil seems to be merely graphic: the first is written initially and in the group *nd<nt*,

<sup>1</sup> Kittel's Dictionary, which gives Tamil cognates in Kanara characters, misrepresents *ç<c* as *dž* between vowels.

the second in all other positions. Corresponding to the  $\bar{r}$ -symbol of early Kanara and Telugu, Tamil has a letter formerly sounded as  $\bar{r}$  (strongly trilled *r*) between vowels. It represents spoken *dr* after *n*, and the doubled letter represents *ttr*, which may be reduced to *tt*. It is read as *t* or as *r* before a consonant; a following occlusive is voiceless, not voiced as after the ordinary *r*. These variations seem to imply an ancient *rt*, which became *dr* between vowels; similarly *rtt* became *ttr*. The group *ndr* is derived from *nr* and from *ndn*: it was naturally written with the old *rt*-symbol after the *dr*-value was established. We may use *dr* and  $\bar{r}$  between vowels, to show the older and the more recent values. It seems possible that  $\bar{r} < dr$  and *rt* came from voiceless *r*, but we know so little of Tamil phonology that it can hardly be proved.<sup>1</sup>

Brâhui keeps initial *s* before vowels. A clear example is *sar-* (be well cooked, rot), beside Kanara *ar-*, *ari-* (destroy, perish, rot), *aral* (grief), *aral-* (grieve), *arku-* (be rotten), Tamil *aral* (fire), *aralu-* (burn), *arartci* (pain), *ari-* (destroy, perish), *arugu-* (rot). The basic meaning of these words is 'destroy' or 'perish'; derivatives are 'burn, pain' and 'be burned, be cooked'. The sense of Kanara *aral* has perhaps been modified by that of *ar-*, *aru-* (weep), which has a different root, as is shown by Gôndi *ar-* (weep) with no initial *h*. Dravidian *sar-* and *ar-* (rot) are Aryan loan-words corresponding to Hindi *sar-*, *sar-* (rot).

Other Brâhui examples are perhaps *sarr-* (grow up) beside Kanara *aralu-*, *alaru-* (blossom, open, spread), Tamil *alar-* (blossom); and *sur-* (move) beside Kanara *uralu-*, *uruļu-*, *urļu-* (roll), Tamil *urulu-* (roll). As Latin 'stand' makes Hispanic 'be', we may compare Brâhui *sal-* (stand) with Gôndi *hille* (not), Kui *side-* (is not), Kanara *illa* (is not), Tamil *illai* (is not), Telugu *lē-* (is not), Tulu *iddži* (not). The Brâhui *a* agrees with that of *xaf* beside palatal vowels in the equivalent Kurukh *xebdā*, Kanara *kivi*, Tamil *cevi*, Telugu *cevi*, Tulu *kebi* (ear). A suffixed vowel may mark negation in Dravidian, so there is no difficulty about the sense of the

<sup>1</sup> Spoken Tamil confuses  $\bar{r}$  and *r*, but the  $\bar{r}$  of *kiřistu* indicates a recent leveling. Many natives learned the word from Beschi, who must have used in *Cristo* a sound more strongly trilled than the ordinary Tamil *r*.

words corresponding to Brâhui *sal-*. Tulu *iddži* has normal *dži*<*dri*, as in *wondži*=Tamil *ondru* (one), *mūdži*=Tamil *mündru* (three); it seems to be formally the same as Tamil *indri* (not being). The Kui *d* agrees with that of *idu*=Tamil *il*, Telugu *illu* (house).

From Brâhui *ka-*, Gôndi *sā-*, Kui *sā-*, Kurukh-Malto *ke*, Kanara *sā-, sa-*, Tamil *cā-, ce-*, Telugu *cā-, ca-*, Tulu *sai-* (die), it is clear that *s* may come from *c* in Gôndi and Kui. Most of the Gôndi dialects changed an early *s* to *h* before the later *s* was formed from *c*; Kui has kept the older *s*. But Gôndi and Kui are near neighbors, so it is not strange that a few Gôndi dialects shared the leveling with Kui. The Linguistic Survey records *sā-* (die) beside *šilā* (not) in one (p. 505), with *š* for *s* before a palatal vowel; and *hā-* (die) beside *hille* (not) in another (p. 543). Both of these dialects confused the old *s* and *s<c*; one of them changed the resultant to *h*. Some of the Gôndi dialects have *halle* instead of *hille*, and one has both *hale* and *hile* (L. S., p. 526), showing that the two forms are separate words. The *h* of *hille* was added to *\*alle*, which came from the root represented by Brâhui *alla-* (was not), Kurukh *mal-* (is not), Malto *mal-* (is not), Kanara *alla* (is not), Tamil *alla* (is not); in Kurukh-Malto the initial *m* was added under the influence of *men-* (be).

Initial *s*, treated like *s* in the south, makes Brâhui *š*: *šalāp-*=Kanara *alambu-*, Tamil *alambu-*, Telugu *alamu-* (wash). Other examples are perhaps *šir-* (smooth out) beside Kanara *iraku-*, *iri-* (press), Tamil *idrukku-* (tighten); and *šurr-* (scratch) beside Kanara *ore-* (grind, rub, touch), Tamil *urai-* (rub). Gôndi and Kui have *s* for initial *š*. In the numerals 4—7, Gôndi *nälüng*, *saijüng*, *särüng*, *jérüng*, Kui *nälgi*, *singi*, *sadžgi*, *odgi*, Kanara *nälkü*, *aidu*, *ärü*, *ëru*, Tamil *nängu*, *aindu*, *ädrü*, *ëru*, Telugu *nälugu*, *aidu*, *ärü*, *ëdu*, Tulu *näl*, *ain*, *ädzi*, *jël*, the widespread *k* or *g* of 4 seems to be radical. Gôndi and Kui have extended the endings of 4 to 5—7. The Dravidian stems of 5 and 6 were apparently *\*sain*, *\*satro*. The *n* of 5 was often altered and lost in contact with initial consonants, so that many of the derivatives lack a nasal: thus Kanara has *ainūrū* (500), *aivattu* (50), *aivarū* (five persons).

Lack of material makes it hard to say how initial *s* was treated in Kurukh-Malto; we should expect it to be kept as in Brâhui.

The northern treatment of medial *s* is shown by Brâhui *ras-*, Gôndi *avr-*, Kui *ānāb*, Kurukh-Malto *ārs-* (arrive), probably derived from \**arans-*. Gôndi has *avr-<\*avr-<\*araw-<\*arāh-*: medial *h* was lost, and *r* was assimilated to hiatus-filling *v<w*, in accordance with *kis*=Kanara *kircu* (fire). Kui *ānāb-*, with normal *b* for the *v* kept in other dialects, represents \**arnaw-<\*arnah-*; medial *s* was weakened to *h* and lost as in Gôndi. Telugu has *rā<\*aranso*, used as the imperative of *va-* (come). An early southern *s* is implied by Tamil *ājiram* (thousand), derived from Sanskrit *sahasra*. If there had been no *s* in Tamil when the Sanskrit word was borrowed, the Tamil form would be \**āram*. The sound-group *sr* was unknown in early Dravidian: *sahasra* was adopted as \**sāsara* or \**sāsera*, and the loss of *h<s* caused *j* to be added as a hiatus-filler. The Tamil *m* need not be connected with the same Sanskrit ending; neuter *a*-stems take *m* as the nominative-ending in Tamil.

Tamil *ai* is common as a stressless ending, but rare otherwise. It seems likely that the ending *-ai* was derived from *-as* or *-ās*, or from both; similarly Italian has *i* for final *s* in *dai<das*, *poi<post*, *voi<uos*. Tamil has *-ai* for the final vowel of Sanskrit *ā*-stems in loan-words. This does not indicate a change of *ā* to *ai* in Tamil: it shows that early Tamil had the noun-ending *-ās* and used it for Aryan *ā*. The stressless ending *-ā* is extremely rare in Tamil nouns, and is a variant of older *-avu*.

Since the foregoing was written, I have found *il-* (stand) in the Malto Gospels (Agra, 1881-82). Some of the forms have a suffixed stem *idž-* (for \**ildž-*), and there is a corresponding *iddž-* (stand) in Kurukh. These verbs are evidently connected with Brâhui *sal-* (<\**sil-?*), and show that initial *s* has been lost in Kurukh-Malto. Another example seems to be Kurukh *abrā* (those things), presumably derived from Aryan *sarva* (all) and the general demonstrative *a* or *ā*. The form *ibrā* (these things) could be analogic: after \**sabré* changed to *abré*, its use as the plural of *ād* (<\**ate*) produced *ibré* as the plural of *id<\*ite*. A stressless variant of \**sil-* is probably represented by Kurukh *atl-*, *tal-* (be), the development being *tal-<atl-<\*astl-<\*asl-<\*sl-*. The added *t* may be compared with *t* in Kanara *kriṣṇa*, a semi-popular variant of *kiṭṭa* <*kriṣṇa* (Krishna).

Other words with *s* before a consonant are hard to find. Initial *sn* may be assumed for the root of the following verbs: Brâhui *hur-* (look), Gôndi *hûr-* (see), Kui *sûd-* (see), Malto *tund-* (see), Kanara *nôd-, nôr-* (look, see), Tamil *nôkku-* (look at), Telugu *cûc-, cûd-* (see), Tulu *tû-* (see). Brâhui could have developed *h* from *sn* thru *N* (voiceless *n*). Gôndi and Kui leveled early *s* and *s<sn<sn*; Gôndi *s* became *h* at a later time. Gôndi variants are *hûr-, hur-, hur-, hud-*; and *sur-*, as we should expect, in the dialect that has *śilâ=hille*. Malto seems to have formed *t* from *N*: *sn>sN>st>t*. The *t* became *t* by assimilation in *tund-*; the nasal may imply *\*snud->\*snund-*, with extension as in Spanish *mancha<macula*. Tamil has lost *d* before the *k*-suffix of the verb, but it has the corresponding noun *nôttam=Kanara nôtâ* (sight), apparently derived from earlier *\*nôddans* or something similar. Likewise the Telugu verb has lost *d* in the forms that take a *c*-suffix: *\*tûdc-* developed thru *\*tûc-* to *cûc*, with internal assimilation, and then produced analogic *cûd-* for *\*tûd-*. Tulu *tû-* has the dialectic variants *sû-, hû-*.

A basis *\*nisatro* seems to be implied by Gôndi *nir*, Kanara *nîru*, Tamil *nîdru*, Telugu *nigûru, nirûru, nîru* (ashes). The *i*-forms probably indicate assimilation following the loss of *s*: *ia>ie>i*. The Telugu variants could have come from *\*nisotro>\*nivotro*, with the *a* assimilated to *o*. The change of *w* to *g* has parallels in European languages, as French *garde* (ward), *guêpe* (wasp), *guerre* (war). If the foregoing nouns are to be connected with Brâhui *his* (ashes), we may assume a root *\*snis*, with dissimilative loss of initial *s* in Gôndi and southern Dravidian.

Brâhui *nibbar* (weak) and *nizzôr* (weak) look like dialectal variants from a single basis, *\*nizvar<\*niswar*. By a sense-development 'long—thin—weak', they may be connected with the following words: Kanara *nigar-, nigur-, nimir-, nîd-, nîl-* (extend), Tamil *nil* (long). The *m* of *nimir-* (*<\*niwar-*) has a close parallel in Portuguese *uma*, derived from older *ua* (*<âna*) thru *\*ûwa* and *\*ûñwa*.

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## V.—TROS TYRIUSQUE (VERG. AEN. I 574).

Latinists like Nonius Marcellus (p. 282 M.; time of Constantine) and Servius certainly baulked at this line, which has been used to embroider myriads of *loci communes* for more than nineteen centuries. '*Agere aliquem*' 'to deal with', or *agi* 'to be dealt w. or treated', is a salto mortale in idiomatic Latinity which no 'poetic license' can explain. The editors of the Latin *Thesaurus* felt it [s. v. *ago* col. 1369]. Servius added the gloss *regetur*: i. e. 'come into my town as citizens w. rights equal to those of my Phenicians: you will be impartially governed'. Nonius Marcellus, I say, baulked also, and wrote downright *habetur*: the future being however in that context indispensable. 'Guyet', as quoted by Ribbeck, suggested *habetor*. Conington, Nettleship and Ribbeck felt the awkwardness of that Latinity but left the verse as it came down to them.

I have had this line in one of my herbaria far longer than Horace's canonc nine years, and as I am getting oldish, I must present my cure while I may. My change is slight.

*Tros Tyriusve*: *mihi nullo discrimine agetur*, two clauses. VE for QVE. Long ago I put on my margin three parallels, which seem to contribute to the plausibility and I think to the probability of my remedial suggestion.

Aen. 2, 390 . . dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? two distinct clauses. The second one (also in Conington's commentary; I gathered it however myself also before I saw it there): Aen. 10, 108 'Tros Rutulusne fuat nullo discrimine habebo'. Change (slightly) to: 'Tros Rutulusve fuat: nullo discrimine habebo'. I see in Valpy's in usum Delphini, 1819, that Taubmann too read *Rutulusve*. The third and last of these buttressing parallels is Aen. 11, 591 sq.:

'hac quicumque sacrum violarit volnere corpus,  
Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas'.

Read: Tros Italusve: mihi . . poenas: *que* in this context is downright illogical.

E. G. SIHLER.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis**, 3 vols.,  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$  in.:

Part I.—Texts and Translation, pp. 15 + 107; Part II.—Grammatical Analysis, pp. 11 + 183; Part III.—List of Formations and Glossary, pp. 8 + 92 + 2. By LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, Assistant Professor of Comparative Philology and German, University of Illinois (= University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. III, Nos. 2, 3, 4; May, August, and November, 1917).

This work contains an extended treatment of Tagalog, the most important native language of the Philippine Islands, similar in general character and scope to Seidenadel's Bontoc Igorot Grammar with Vocabulary and Texts (cf. my review of the same in this Journal, Vol. XXXI, 3 [whole No. 123] 1910, pp. 339–342). It is the most elaborate and pretentious work yet published on any Philippine language, comprising in all 382 pages of text exclusive of title-pages, preface, table of contents, etc. It is based entirely, as the author tells us in the preface to Part I, p. 10 (166), on the spoken speech of a Mr. Santiago, an educated Tagalog of the town of San Miguel na Matamés, Bulacán Province, Luzon. Part I contains the Tagalog text in phonetic transcription, with accents indicated and the English translation on opposite pages, of thirty-four prose stories and selections illustrative of Tagalog life and ideas. Part II comprises what is practically a grammar of the Tagalog spoken by Mr. Santiago, divided into three parts, viz., Phonetics pp. 134–145 (290–301), Syntax pp. 146–209 (302–365), and Morphology, pp. 210–316 (366–472). Part III contains first a list of nominal and verbal formations, pp. 317–319 (473–475), arranged, with the exception of a few forms without affix, under the various formative elements, so that the list is at the same time a list of these elements; references are given in each case to the paragraphs of the grammar where the forms are discussed. The rest of the volume consists of the word index or vocabulary of the words occurring in the chrestomathy and grammar, the words being arranged according to roots, with the derivatives grouped under each root. Besides the translation of the words, at least one reference to a passage in which it occurs is given.

The texts in Part I offer an excellent body of linguistic material. The plan of furnishing each text with a translation

on the opposite page is to be recommended, as it enables the student to test the correctness of his own translation of the text much better than would be possible on the basis of the vocabulary alone, and much more conveniently than would be possible if the translations were added in a body after all the texts.

The translation of several passages has been omitted thru oversight, viz., p. 68 (224), ll. 6, 7, 8; p. 90 (246), ll. 20, 21; p. 106 (262), l. 27; p. 114 (270), ll. 10, 11. On page 115 (271), ll. 29, 30, the translation "The cheapest thing is the blessing of the corpse at the door of the church and placed on the ground" is obscure; the meaning is—The cheapest form of blessing is that given to the corpse at the door of the church while lying on the ground. The translation of Tagalog *pítú-n̄g wika*, Spanish *siete palabras* ("seven words"), pp. 20, 21 (176, 177), by "Good Friday mass" is apparently incorrect. The service of the "seven last words of Christ" on Good Friday is a three-hour series of prayers and meditations and not a mass, and so far as I know, the term "Good Friday mass" is never applied to it. The only mass that is celebrated on Good Friday in the Roman Catholic Church is the so-called "Mass of the Presanctified" which is celebrated early in the day, and has no connection with the three-hour service, which is held from 12 to 3 p. m. in commemoration of the three hours that Christ hung on the Cross. In the Index, p. 387 (543), col. 2 near bottom, *siyéte-palábras* is translated "Easter Mass" (? !). The author makes the curious mistake of translating *kala-bàw* ('water buffalo') by 'caribou' instead of 'carabao', p. 101 (257), ll. 18, 19 (as also in the Word-Index, p. 385 (511), col. 1); 'caribou' is of course the name of the American reindeer. A misprint which is not noticed in the Corrigenda is *pagisigáwan* p. 48 (204), l. 37 for *pagsigáwan*.

An occasional note might have been added with advantage in order to facilitate the finding of a difficult or irregular form in the Index; e. g., to *pagsa-ulàn* p. 62 (218), l. 12—cf. *sa* in Index; or to *katuturán* p. 76 (232), l. 21—cf. *tuwid* in Index. A table of contents giving a list of the selections would have been a convenience.

The Word-Index in Part III is excellent. So far as I know it is unique among Philippine vocabularies and lexicons in being furnished with references to a series of texts. In the explanation at the beginning of the index the statement "the forms are given with fullest accentuation and vocalism (*iy* for *y*, *uw* for *w* after consonant), regardless of actual occurrence" is obscure; the meaning is apparently that the forms are given with the fullest accentuation and vocalism that they can have under any condition, regardless of the fact that they may actually occur in the texts with different vocalization and

accent. The reference *see Corrigenda* under article *-abála* is without meaning, as there is no mention of *abála* or its derivatives in the *Corrigenda* pp. 406-408 (562-564); similarly in the case of the reference *and Corrigenda* under *-álam*. Unnoticed misprints are *na-gáral* under article *áral*, so divided at the end of a line instead of *nag-áral*, and a superfluous *is* at the end of article *-bitáw*. At the top of page 328 (484) the first and second lines of the first column are interchanged. The word *bakás* is defined as *mark, in*; what the *in* signifies does not appear. In the *Corrigenda* to Part II pp. 407, 408 (563, 564), several page references are incorrect, viz., p. 272, l. 2, which should be p. 277, l. 2; and p. 224, l. 25 (?). The *Corrigenda* to p. 297, l. 29 and to p. 313, l. 3, also apparently belong elsewhere.

The most important part of the work is the grammar contained in Part II, which gives an analysis of the speech of Mr. Santiago. This analysis, while containing a number of things that are new, and while characterized throughout by a wealth of example, is given under such unfamiliar forms, with such peculiar principles of arrangement, and in many cases with so much obscurity of statement (similar to that which has already been referred to in Parts I and III), that it is difficult at times even for one familiar with the grammatical structure of the Philippine languages in general to understand the author's meaning.

The most important contribution made by the author to the study of Philippine languages is his treatment of Tagalog Phonetics. Here he gives us the only really scientific treatment yet published of the phonetics of any Philippine language. His discussion of the relation between *i* and *e*, and between *o* and *u* is excellent, and his treatment of the syllable is one of the best things in his work. His discussion of the accent, however, while it contains a great amount of information on this important subject, is in many respects distinctly disappointing.

In the first place his system of accent marks is confusing; he uses the grave accent both for final primary accent and for secondary accent final and non-final. As all four kinds of accents that he mentions, viz., primary final and non-final, and secondary final and non-final differ in pitch and quantity of vowel, there is no more reason for using different marks for the two kinds of primary accent than for the two kinds of secondary. To be consistent all four should have been marked with different signs, or one sign should have been employed for all primary accents, and one for all secondary. According to the system actually used by the author, the words *gabi* (primary final), *bahay* (primary non-final), *aakyat* (primary non-final and secondary final), and *susulat* (primary non-final and secondary non-final), appear as *gabi*, *báhay*, *áakyát*, *sùsúlat*.

With a separate sign for each of the four accents they might be represented as *gabi*, *bâhay*, *âakyât*, *sûsûlat*; or with acute accent mark for all primary, and grave for all secondary accents, as *gabi*, *báhay*, *áakyât*, *súsúlat*; either of which methods is certainly preferable to the one used by the author.

All former authorities agree that the primary accent falls on one of the last two syllables, but this is apparently not the case in the dialect of Mr. Santiago, for in any number of words throughout the work we find it marked on syllables before the penult. No statement, however, is anywhere made as to what syllables of a polysyllabic word are capable of bearing the non-final primary accent. No more satisfaction is given with regard to the secondary accent, nor is it stated under what conditions a word may have more than one secondary accent, as seems to be often the case.

It would have been a distinct advantage in the case of Tagalog words with both primary and secondary accents, to have compared them to words in some other language, English, French, German, etc., whose accent scheme approximates that of the Tagalog words, as otherwise it is practically impossible for a student to get any clear idea of how the Tagalog words sound.

The section on sentence accent is very good, and the grouping of words into the four accent classes, atonic, enclitic, pretonic, and orthotonic is especially to be commended, tho the statements with regard to them might be given with more clearness.

The development of a stress weaker than a secondary accent in a series of unstressed syllables, which is discussed in §50, should be more clearly and exhaustively treated. There is no way of knowing whether it refers exclusively to such cases as originally oxytone words which have become atonic (as, e. g., *ang mangâ báhay* which becomes *ang manga báhay*, and then *ang mànga báhay*), or whether it has a wider application.

The Syntax is the most disappointing part of the whole grammar, being decidedly inferior to both the Phonetics and the Morphology. The chief defects are the great number of peculiar and unusual grammatical terms used without good reason for perfectly familiar and suitable designations, the lack of a clear and simple arrangement of the material, and the failure to give adequate treatment to many important categories.

It is divided into four chief divisions, viz., 1) Sentence and Word, 2) Subject and Predicate, 3) Attributes, 4) Serial Groups. In the first division the author enumerates what he considers the chief syntactic relations, viz., Attribution, Predication, and the Serial Relation; predication corresponding to the usual acceptation of that term; the serial relation being that between words connected by coordinating conjunctions like

'and', while attribution includes everything else, tho he does suggest that perhaps it would be well to set up one additional type to be known as "exocentric modification" (?!). He then takes up the parts of speech, of which he distinguishes two, viz., "full words" and "particles", but he states that "independent of this classification . . . are certain less important groupings of words and certain phrase types, some of which will appear in the course of the analysis" (what these are is not stated). "Others, however, demand mention at the outset". These last categories are the following, viz., 1) static and transient words, a transient being a word expressing "an element of experience viewed as impermanent, i. e., belonging to some limited portion of time" (or somewhat more simply, a verb—F. R. B.)<sup>1</sup> while static words are all those that are not transient; 2) personal names; 3) the object construction (i. e., all nouns and words and expressions treated as nouns which are preceded by the definite article *ang*—F. R. B.); 4) expressions of indefinite quantity (i. e., expressions containing an indefinite noun after words denoting 'having' or 'not having'—F. R. B.).

The second division, Subject and Predicate, is clearly and logically arranged, sentences without subject and predicate structure, which he calls "non-predicative", the various kinds of subject, and the various kinds of predicate being discussed.

In the fourth division, Serial Groups, coordinating particles, paratactic sentences, parentheses, and anacoluthic sentences are briefly treated.

The bulk of the Syntax falls in the third division, Attribution, pp. 160-205 (316-365), about 44 pages, compared with about 20 pages for the other three parts. Throwing aside the older terminology of nominative, genitive, and prepositional or oblique cases, tho without good reason, the author distinguishes four attributive constructions (from the point of view of connective particle or case sign—F. R. B.), viz., 1) conjunctive attribution, all cases in which the attribute is joined to the modified word by the particle *na* (=ng), *na* (usually called the ligature—F. R. B.); 2) disjunctive attribution (the attribute being in what is usually called the genitive case, tho its application is much wider than what is ordinarily understood by genitive, including case of the agent, instrumental, accusative, etc.—F. R. B.); 3) local attribution (the attribute being in what is usually called the oblique case—F. R. B.); 4) absolute attribution, in which the attribute merely precedes or follows. Conjunctive attribution comprises a treatment of the construction of descriptive, pronominal, and numeral adjectives, of adverbs of manner, and of relative, noun, and purpose clauses; disjunctive attribution covers the various uses of the genitive

<sup>1</sup> The initials indicate explanations injected by the Reviewer.

case forms; local, the various uses of the oblique case forms; absolute attribution includes the use of many of the chief adverbs and conjunctions.

Such a division of the material, while it groups together all the examples of these four types of construction, makes no provision for a connected treatment of material which is logically related, but which differs in grammatical construction, such categories as e. g., adverbs, comparison, various kinds of simple sentences, subordinate clauses, etc. The treatment of some of these categories, indeed, e. g., adverbs and subordinate clauses, will be found scattered in various places in all four of the subdivisions mentioned above, and there is no way of finding and combining these scattered references except by reading thru the text.

This four-fold division is crossed by a very useful three-fold division from the point of view of the position of the attribute, viz., 1) loosely joined, i. e., at the beginning of a sentence, usually followed by the particle *ay*, or at the end of a sentence, 2) closely joined, immediately preceding or following the word modified, 3) enclitic, following immediately the first word of a modified expression, not counting loosely joined attributes.

The Morphology is devoted to an enumeration and discussion of the various forms of words, chiefly nouns and verbs. It is divided into three unequal divisions, viz., 1) Composition, in which are discussed certain combinations of words which somewhat resemble the compounds of other languages pp. 210, 211 (366, 367); 2) General features of word formation, in which are discussed roots, formative particles, reduplication, and accent shift, pp. 211-217 (367-373); and 3) Description of formations, pp. 218-316 (374-472), which are divided into three groups from the point of view of form, viz., a) primary, those without formative particle or with *pag* or *pang*; b) secondary, those made with the prefixes *si*, *paki*, *ka*, *pa*, *pati*; c) irregular derivatives. From the point of view of meaning, each of these is divided into four groups, viz., simple static words, those that involve no idea of active or passive (i. e., ordinary concrete nouns—F. R. B.), e. g., *súlat* 'writing, document'; transients (i. e., verbs—F. R. B.), e. g., *sumílat* 'wrote'; abstracts (i. e., verbal nouns of action), e. g., *pagsúlat* 'act of writing'; special static words, which tho nouns involve the idea of voice, e. g., *sulátan* 'writing-desk' (i. e., that upon which is written'). The threefold formal division is neither logical nor convenient, but the fourfold semantic division is good, especially the distinction between simple and special static words.

The chief good points of this third division, which with the exception of eight pages makes up the whole of the Morphology, are: the great number and variety of the examples given, which consist of sentences containing the form in question;

the lists of roots which are capable of taking the various formations; and the detailed account of the accent and accent-shift of the various forms. It suffers, however, from a number of defects. The explanations are often obscure, more unusual terms appear, e. g., a verb in the future tense is called a durative contingent transient, there are no paradigms, and the discussion of both the verbal and the nominal systems loses in clearness and unity by the arrangement in which it is here presented.

The grammar as a whole is, from a mechanical point of view, not without a number of defects, some of them of a serious character. In the first place there are two peculiarities of writing which it has in common with Parts I and III. The sign for the glottal catch, which is apparently the upper part of a question mark, the dot at the bottom being omitted, is awkward, and until you become used to it gives a curious interrogative flavor to the word which contains it, which might be compared to the indefinite *f* or labial impression produced on modern readers by the old English *s* which resembles an *f*. Again the ligature *to*, which really forms a part of the final syllable of a preceding word, is written alone. It would be better to connect it with a preceding word by a hyphen, e. g., *ito-to*.

Other defects hinder lucidity of presentation and ease of reference. The divisions and subdivisions of the material are not clearly enough indicated by difference in type, indenting, and the like, the same kind of numbers, e. g., (1), (2), etc., and the same kind of type being frequently used for the headings of sections of entirely different order or rank. There is no index, and the meagre table of contents, consisting of about a page and a half, is practically useless as a guide to the large amount of material here treated. The division of the whole text into short numbered paragraphs, and the numbering of the lines of the page (found also in Part I), however, are convenient devices, while the employment of a special notation (§339) to indicate the various peculiarities of word formation will be found useful.

Unnoticed misprints in the Grammar are—‘*interjections*’ p. 151 (307), l. 21; ‘*reduplicated*’ p. 215 (371), l. 25; and the repetition of the word ‘*aspect*’ p. 217 (373), l. 26.

The dialect of Mr. Santiago, as the author states (Preface, p. 10 [166]), differs very little from ordinary written Tagalog. Examples of differences I have noticed, which may in some cases be differences between earlier and later stages of the language, are, e. g., the use of *namán* in the sense of ‘however’ instead of ‘also’; *kanyá*, *kaniyá* instead of *kayá* ‘therefore’; *ang táo-ng itó* ‘this man’ instead of *itó-ng táo* or *itó-ng táo-ng itó*; the use of forms like *sumúlat* and *sumusúlat* as preterite and present of the *um* class of verbs instead of *sungmúlat* and *sungmusúlat*; etc.

In a grammatical work like the one under discussion, in which the author follows an entirely new plan of arrangement, some attempt, at least, should be made to show where the new arrangement and the older and more familiar forms touch. The fact that practically no concessions to this natural demand are made by the author is responsible for much of the obscurity that mars his work. The least that could have been asked for in such a book would be a brief index of the familiar grammatical categories with references to the places in the grammar where they are treated, but not even this is furnished. Any grammarian is, of course, thoroly in sympathy with the invention of new terms and the setting up of new categories in the study of a new and peculiar form of speech, but familiar terms and categories should not be thrown overboard, as they are here, without good and sufficient reason, especially when the new terms and categories offer no special advantage over the old, or are in many cases decidedly inferior to them.

The grammatical analysis here given is probably not intended for practical use, and would certainly be almost useless as a handbook for beginners, but even as a scientific treatise it has failed to measure up to many of the chief requirements of such a piece of work. It can hardly be said to have filled the need, which certainly exists, of a *clear* presentation of the most important grammatical facts of the chief Philippine language. In spite of its evident and serious defects, however, the phonological material, the great number and variety of the examples, the word lists in the Morphology, and the number of novel points of view, will make the grammar a useful addition to the material at hand for the study of Tagalog.

To sum up briefly, Part I (Texts) and Part III (Vocabulary) are both first rate specimens of the class of linguistic writing which they exemplify. Part II (Grammar), however, representing an effort in the very field in which a man of the author's evident linguistic ability would be expected to shine, is disappointing; it is not in any sense a model Philippine grammar, and it will be useful to students of Tagalog chiefly for the new points of view it suggests, and as a store-house of linguistic raw material.

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ETTORE BIGNONE: I Poeti Filosofi della Grecia. Empedocle: Studio Critico. Traduzione e Commento delle Testimonianze e dei Frammenti. Torino, Fratelli Bocca, 1916. Pp. xi + 688.

This elaborate study of Empedocles consists of two parts, of which the first (pp. 3-290) treats critically of Empedocles

the man and of his work, while the second (pp. 295-519) gives a translation, with abundant commentary, of the *testimonia* and fragmentary remains of the two works of the poet philosopher. There follow six appendices (pp. 521-676), indices, *addenda et corrigenda*, and a table of contents.

When the book was sent to me I hoped to make it the basis of a detailed study of Empedocles in the form of a review, and therefore deferred the notice which should otherwise have been more prompt. Inevitable distractions and duties have made it impossible to carry out my original purpose. Hence this apology.

It may be said at the outset that Signor Bignone has given us in this volume the best available study of Empedocles, a poet of no mean powers, a thinker at once bold and profound, and a man as picturesque and engaging in the breadth of his interests and activities as history affords. But the book is not equally excellent throughout. While the second part and the appendices are in the main conceived in the sober style of a scientific treatise, presenting the evidence with learning, care, and mature, if not infallible, judgment, the first part impresses the thoughtful reader as rather two ambitious both in style and in scope. Though unquestionably containing the results of very wide reading and much thought, it cannot be said to be generally sound; indeed, I have noted so many points at which our author has quite overreached himself, yielding to the allurements of ill-founded hypotheses and generalizations, that I find it difficult justly to appraise certain really brilliant observations made by the way. Our author has in fact essayed to paint in a complete and detailed background, setting in perspective all the predecessors of Empedocles, a task to which, as the result proves, he was by no means equal; and, like the Italian painter of the Sistine Madonna, he has sketched even the angel faces of those, like Plato, destined to be born in a later age. Who can take seriously his characterization of Plato as a true scion of the Ionian stock cultivated in the school of Socrates?

Plato had indeed an interest in Ionian science, as he appears to have had in every phase of Greek life and thought; and his keen intelligence rendered easy for him a sympathetic view of what the great Ionians of the sixth and fifth centuries had wrought and thought, as witness his *Protagoras*, *Politicus*, *Timaeus*, and *Critias*; but he toyed with their science, his heart being elsewhere in highlands of which they knew little and recked less. This criticism would be captious if it concerned only an *obiter dictum*; in reality it concerns the central theme of the book, for in the consideration of the historical background of Empedocles it is essential that one distinguish between the contributions of Ionia, which gave rise to history,

geography, geology, and cosmogony, and of Attica and the West, which created metaphysics, the higher mathematics, and cosmography, and added the mystic conception of the soul, without which Parmenides, Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato are unthinkable. Empedocles marks the crossing, but not the blending, of these alien currents of thought. In fact they never did fully blend: certainly not in Plato, not even in Aristotle. The biological works of the Stagirite, for example, show hardly a trace of his metaphysics. The former depended ultimately on the Ionians, the latter descended from Socrates. So alien was this Ionian science to the metaphysically minded, that the Academic and Peripatetic commentators of Aristotle never touched his biological and geographical treatises. How can one write a history of fifth century thought if one has not distinguished these currents and traced them back toward their sources?

When Signor Bignone speaks of mysticism, following the blind guidance of Joel's *Der Ursprung der Naturphilosophie aus dem Geiste der Mystik*, he seeks it where of all places it was least to be found, in Ionia; and with Joel, he seeks to explain sixth century mysticism by the derivative mystics of the Strassburg school. For so uncritical a method our author deserves censure instead of praise. Of course we are confronted by the enigmatic figure of Heraclitus; but on his thought our author has thrown little clear light. There is here a twilight zone which one must tread with caution. Perhaps we shall never be able fully to illuminate the 'dark' Heraclitus, but surely modern mysticism will help us little. Ancient tradition associates both Pythagoras and Heraclitus with mystery religions. There is more hope of help from that quarter when we shall have quite set aside the agnosticism fostered by Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* and made a really intelligent study of the subject. To that end work of no little promise is going forward.

Regarding the interpretation of Empedocles in detail, the most important criticisms of the conclusions set forth by our author I have anticipated in various publications. Of my Qualitative Change in Pre-Socratic Philosophy and *Περὶ Φύσεως* Signor Bignone has made abundant use; other articles printed in various places he has either not known or been unable to procure. Thus he would have found the question regarding the supposed inconsistency of Empedocles' views of the soul in his philosophical poem and in the *Kaθηρμοί* discussed briefly but correctly, as I hold, in my review of Diès, *La Cycle Mystique* (*Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, vol. viii, pp. 106-108); problems common to Empedocles and Anaximander, in *Class. Philol.*, vol. vii, pp. 212-234; the background of the corpuscular theories of

Empedocles, Anaxagoras, and the Atomists in Harvard Studies in Class. Philol., vol. xxii, pp. 111-172.

Another study of mine, On Certain Fragments of the Pre-Socratics, Proc. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, vol. xlviii, pp. 681-734) escaped the attention of our author. In it I reverted to the subject of the *ψυχή* and *νῶμα* of Empedocles and particularly to Emped. fr. 110 Diels (pp. 725-729). I am sure Signor Bignone would have accepted the general view taken of the fragment if he had known the article. I refer to it specially here in order to set right a minor point in the discussion and to add new illustrations of the thought which have come to my notice since the publication of the note.

The question relates chiefly to the words (l. 4 sq.) *αὐτὰ γὰρ αὖτε | ταῦτ' εἰς ἔθος ἐκαστον, ὅπῃ φύσις ἐστὶν ἐκάστῳ*. It is of course obvious that *ἔθος* is corrupt, and Diels has adopted the correction of Miller, reading *ἡθός* instead, but retains *αὖτε*, which is likewise corrupt. Regarding the latter it would seem, there can be no doubt that my emendation *ἄξει* must be accepted; and that is the point of cardinal importance. Instead of *ἔθος*, as I pointed out, one might have a choice between *ἡθός* and *ἔθνος*, between which I could not finally decide, although inclining slightly to favor *ἔθνος*. I cannot even now make a definitive choice between the two words, either of which would have been possible, and would have yielded the same general sense. In addition to the references there given for *ἔθνος* in the sense of 'kind', cp. Hippocr. Περὶ φυσέων, 6 (6. 96 L.) *ἔστιν δὲ δισσὰ ἔθνεα πυρετῶν* and *ibid.*, p. 98 L. *ἔθνει τριών, οὐ γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι τῶν ζῴων κτλ.*, and Plato Gorg. 455 B. Of *ἡθός* in the sense of the local habitation of a tribe or race, whether of men or animals, Herodotus affords numerous examples, cited by Stein on 2. 142, 16. But when things go to their own places they likewise join their own kind; cp. Arist. de Caelo Δ 3, 310<sup>a</sup> 33 τὸ δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον φέρεσθαι ἐκαστον τὸ εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ εἶδος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. Hence the local designations often given to the emanations from the Godhead in the Gnostic systems, in which each being has its *οἰκεῖος τόπος*. As the Gospel of the Naasenes says of Jesus, *ὑδεὶ γάρ, φησίν, ἐξ ὅποις φύσεως ἐκαστος τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐστι καὶ ὅπι ἐκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ιδίαν φύσιν ἐλθεῖν ἀνάγκη* (Hippol., Refut. V, p. 152 K.). Their *φύσις* is their kind, defined by certain qualifications, being both the source from which the individual springs and the goal to which he tends. Thus we read *αἱ αἰσθῆσεις τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πηγὰς ἐπανέρχονται μέρη γεγνόμεναι καὶ πάλιν συναντάμεναι εἰς [τὰς] ἐνεργειας· καὶ ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία εἰς τὴν ἀλογον φύσιν χωρεῖ* (Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 336. 7). This suggests a slight modification of my former interpretation of *ὅπῃ φύσις ἐστὶν ἐκάστῳ*, which I explained as meaning 'each after its kind'. Since *φύσις* includes both the kind and its station,

that loose rendering is not far from the poet's meaning; but if we have to choose between *ἡθος* and *ἔθνος*, with the former reading *φύσις* would mean the natural habitat, with the latter it would suggest the *γένος* or *εἶδος* that inhabits it.

Regarding the thought of the fragment as a whole one may note that it proceeds on the assumption of the affinity of like for like, which ancient psychology applied especially to the problem of cognition. The passage cited above from Reitzenstein's *Poimandres* rests on this assumption, as does Hippocr. Περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἀνθρώπον, I (6. 278 L.) quoted in my earlier discussion. This is only a special case of *κοινωνία* or *συμπάθεια*, as the Greeks variously called it; and for this notion Hippocr. Περὶ γυναικείων B 174 (8. 354 L.) uses the term *ὁμοεθνίη*. One who notes the usage of fifth century writers can have no doubt regarding the meaning of Empedocles nor of the correctness of my interpretation, which sets his words into relation with *Lucret.*, ll. 400 sq. and ll. 1114 sq.

Besides a multitude of minor points on which one might differ from our author regarding the interpretation of Empedocles, there are several large problems raised by his attempt, in the appendices, to reconstruct the order of the extant fragments and to fix the stages of the cosmic cycle as described by the poet. The endeavor was worth the making, and Signor Bignone has advanced both questions; but one cannot accept his conclusions throughout, and space would fail us to debate the questions in detail.

Among the merits of the book is the wide acquaintance of the author with the literature of his subject. The important books are all known to him and he has made assiduous use of them. The periodical publications of European scholars also he knows; it is perhaps intelligible that much that has appeared in American journals should have escaped his notice. In general the proof-reading has been carefully done; but, especially in English titles, numerous slips occur, which American readers will readily correct for themselves. The general index seems to be quite general, omitting references to the authors of special treatises, but containing such to works of a literary character. This seems of a piece with the literary ambitions of our author in the first part of his book.

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## REPORTS.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA, XLVI (1918), fasc. 3-4.

Pp. 307-344. Luigi Paretì. Pelasgica. The conclusion of a long article which discusses the ancient theories as to the Pelasgi in Crete, in Sicily, in Southern Italy, and especially in Etruria (see A. J. P. XXXIX 423).

Pp. 345-362 and 411-446. Umberto Moricca. Le tragedie di Seneca. The first two instalments of a long study of the tragedies of Seneca. The author discusses Seneca's imitation of his Greek models, his originality, his power of invention, his development of the action and of the characters of his plays.

Pp. 363-369. Reviews of G. Dottin, *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* (L. Paretì); M. A. Schwartz, *Erechtheus et Theseus apud Euripidem et Attidographos* (L. Paretì); W. P. Mustard, *The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes Arnolletus* (Vittorio Cian).

Pp. 369-371. Short notices of four Princeton dissertations: G. A. Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*; C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire*; R. H. Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*; L. R. Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions* (L. Paretì).

Pp. 372-384. Reports of philological journals, list of new books received.

Pp. 385-396. Luigi Paretì. Ancora sui Taurinii ai tempi di Annibale. Hannibal seems to have crossed the Alps by the Little St. Bernard, and entered Italy by Aosta. 'Taurini' (see Livy, XXI 38) may have been the name of various tribes in that region. It seems to represent an earlier Celtic name 'Taurisci' ('mountaineers').

Pp. 397-410. Remigio Sabbadini. Il codice Vergiliano F. An analysis of the Schedae Vaticanae suggests that they were probably written in Spain. They may have been brought to Naples in the fifteenth century by some Catalonian humanist.

Pp. 447-457. Reviews of Gaetano De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, Vol. III, Parte I e II (Uberto Pedroli); Louise E. Matthaei, *Studies in Greek Tragedy* (G. Fraccaroli).

P. 457. Notice of the death of Professor Giuseppe Fracaroli of the University of Pavia, September 22, 1918.

Pp. 458-464. Reports of philological journals, list of new books received.

W. P. MUSTARD.

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### HERMES L (1915).

Die römischen Staatspriestertümer altlatinischer Gemeindekulte (1-33). Georg Wissowa discusses the Sacerdotes Tusculani etc. in opposition to A. Rosenberg (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX 327).

Lesbische Bauinschrift (IG XII 2, II) (34-46). O. Viedebant follows Lattermann in connecting this inscription with the large temple of Messa, excavated by R. Koldewey (cf. Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos, Berlin, 1890).

Eine Gerichtsverhandlung vor Kaiser Trajan (47-92). W. Weber discusses Pap. Oxy. 1242 (X 112 sqq.), which tells how Trajan favored an embassy of Alexandrian Jews.

Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus (93-112). W. Kranz sees the routes of the early Ionian merchantmen reflected in the Odyssey.

Das sogenannte IV. Buch der Meteorologie des Aristoteles (113-136). I. Hammer-Jensen regards this work as a textbook on chemistry by Strato.

Poseidonios und Vergils vierte Ekloge (137-143). J. Kroll rejects Geffcken's conclusions (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX 424).

Eine Demokritspur bei Xenophon (144-150). K. Praechter traces Xen. Oec. 19, 18 f. to Democritus (cf. T. A. P. A. XLII 123-130).

Miscellen:—E. Meyer (151-154) argues that the campus Rediculi had nothing to do with Hannibal's march against Rome; but the god Tutanus may have protected the city on that occasion.—O. Kern (154-158) shows that *οἰκοφύλαξι* instead of *οἰνοφύλαξι* must be read in No. 33 e of the Delphinion inscriptions of Miletus.—E. Sittig (158-159) calls attention to a *Ζεὺς Ὀρο-μπάτας* in a Cyprian inscription; it is a collateral form of *Ὀρειβάτης*.—C. Robert (159-160) identifies the Autolycus that is honored with a statue by Leochares (cf. Pliny XXXIV 78), with the Areopagite.

Die politische und sociale Struktur der Griechencolonien am Nordufer des Schwarzegegebietes, by E. von Stern (161-224).



Per l'interpretazione del testo etrusco di Agram. III., by E. Lattes (225-246) (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX 328).

Ein keltiberischer Städtebund (247-260). A. Schulten discusses an Iberian inscription found in Spain some forty years ago.

Literarhistorische Beiträge (261-270). 1) objects to Dessau's thesis that Vergil invented the Dido romance (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX 426), and maintains 2) that the Probus epigram has nothing to do with Nepos (cf. Schanz, Röm. Lit.<sup>3</sup> I 2, p. 153).

Rhodische Urvölker (271-303). Chr. Blinkenberg finds the earliest literary evidence with reference to Rhodes in Iliad B (cf. A. J. P. XXXVIII 216). *Τελχῖνες* were the Rhodian metal-worker daemons; they were confused with the Cretan Dactyli.

Horaz C. I 18 (304-311). G. Pasquali shows how this ode was influenced by Ennius.

Miscellen:—E. Schwartz (312-315) emends Menand. Epitr. 512-519.—O. Weinreich (315-6) shows that the contrast of color in the poetical *altercationes* of the middle ages was anticipated in Vespa's *judicium coci et pistoris*.—F. Bechtel (317-318) interprets *Δαῖος* (BCH XXII 254, II) as from *Δαι-σοφος*; *Διο-κρένης* (l. c. No. 12) as *Διο-κρίνης*; and emends BCH XXIII 198 *Χρουσιλάω* to *'Ερουσιλάω*.—Fr. H. von Gaertingen defends *οἰνοφύλακες* against Kern's emendation (cf. Misc. above).—R. Herzog (319-320) regards *Διολύμπιος Θεογένευς* (IG. XII 8, 278 C 31) as a son of the famous athlete of Thasos (cf. Pomtow, Delphica II, BphW 1909, 252 f. and 765 f.). F. Bechtel (320) emends *Δαόνυτος* in schol. to Eur. Phoin. 53 to *Δαόλυτος*.

Seneca und Epikur (321-356). H. Mutschmann discusses the influence of Epicurus on Seneca.

Polybios' Quellen im dritten Buche, by K. J. Beloch (357-373).

Zur Zeitbestimmung des Antiatticista (373-394). K. Latte assigns this work to the second century A. D., to the time of Phrynicus.

Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit (395-415). M. Gelzer cites passages to corroborate Pliny's view (cf. his panegyric on Trajan 69, 4 ff.) that nobilitas was equivalent to *ingentium virorum nepotes, posteri libertatis*, and traces the gradual extinction of the old nobility.

Zu den allatinischen Priestertümern (416-426). A. Rosenberg writes a rejoinder to Wissowa's article reported above.

Ptolemaios "der Sohn" *Πτολεμαῖος Βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου* und *Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου* (427–444). E. von Stern argues that the former, the son of king Lysimachus, was coregent of Ptol. Philad.; the second, the son of Lysimachos and grandson of Ptolemy Philad., was made ruler of Telmessos 240 B. C.

Zur Textkritik der Dionysiaka des Nonnos, by H. Tiedke (445–455).

Literarhistorische Beiträge (456–463). W. A. Baehrens dates the dialogue of Minucius Felix at 160–163 A. D. This date explains the omission of Favorinus' name, whose views are combatted.

Miscellen:—B. Keil (464–468) emends the Egyptian epigram published by Brescia in *Iscrizioni Gr. e Lat.* (Kairo 1911) n. 316.—E. Pfuhl (468–470) interprets the white arm with lance on the vase representing the murder of Ismene by Tydeus, as belonging to Athena not Periklymenus (cf. Robert, *Oedipus* I, 121 ff.).—Fr. Hiller von Gaertringen (470–473) discusses the *λίθος τρικάρανος* of the scholion to Soph. *Oed.* Col. v. 57.—R. Reitzenstein (474–475) emends Propertius IV I, 101.—Th. Zachariae (475–480) shows the oriental origin of the riddle in Sophocles' *Καμίκιοι*.

Zu den Quellen der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius, by A. Klotz (481–536).

Eine stilgeschichtliche Studie zum Philipperbrief (537–553). W. W. Jaeger interprets Phil. 2, 6 *οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν κτλ.* to mean *οὐχ ἄρπαγμα τύχης, ἀλλ’ ἄρετῆς ἀθλον*.

Kleomenes III. und Archidamos (554–571). E. von Stern defends Plutarch's account of the assassination of A. (Cleomenes ch. 5), and explains the passivity of Cleomenes as due to policy.

Das Genesiscitat in der Schrift *περὶ ὑψοῦ* (572–603). K. Ziegler rejects the citation from Genesis in *περὶ ὑψοῦ* IX 9 as an interpolation.

Zu Heraklit Fragm. 26 (Diels) (604–625). O. Leuze interprets this passage as an expression of faith in a life after death.

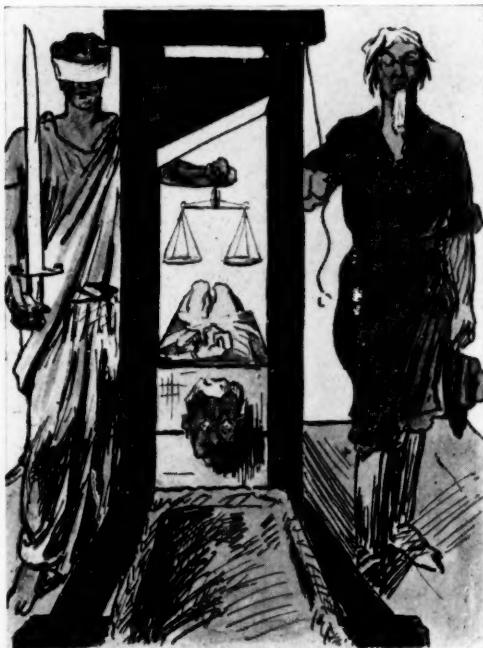
Miscellen:—K. Praechter (626–629) emends Stobaeus Floril. 115, 27 (26 Mein.).—P. Stengel (630–635) discusses the libations of water at tombs, under the headings *λοντρά* and *χέρνιβες*, which were not to serve the departed for baths.—Br. Keil identifies the Caparon and Proxenus of the inscription in Notizie d. Sc. suppl. 1913, pp. 3 sq. with the Locrians in Thuc. III 103, 3.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

## BRIEF MENTION.

'History repeats itself' and 'history never repeats itself' are alike true and alike false. History is a poor teacher, and its lessons are mostly futile; and yet, in the last *Brief Mention*, I undertook to apply the story of the Civil War to the questions of to-day. Historical parallels are often absurdly askew, as I have urged repeatedly, in season and out of season, in the Journal and outside of it; and yet, some months ago, I was tempted to institute a comparison between the history of Aigina and the history of the United States, as will appear from the following extract from 'America in the War', which I reproduce, with an illustrative vignette, by the kind permission of the Century Company, to whom I furnished the text of Rae-maekers' cartoon entitled 'Justice'. It must be considered nothing more serious than a tribute to the modernity of Pindar, who could supply headings for every phase of the great conflict, as he has done in the opening of the Eighth Olympian for one of the burning questions of our day.

### JUSTICE!



"The woman figure called Justice in Rae-maekers' cartoon has a Greek name. She is Themis, consort of Zeus, Themis who sits by his side on the judgement seat. The scales are the scales of Ægina, in her day a great money centre, whose talent was the standard of value then, as the American dollar is today. Ægina was the mother of Æacus, one of the three great judges of the lower world, and be it remembered, it was Æacus that administered justice. Ægina is called by one of the greatest Greek

poets the place where Themis is worshipped more than anywhere else on earth, and he tells us further that there was

much weighing in Ægina, the Merchant State. Heavy weights there were in either scale. Much care was needful in the weighing, no little balancing doubtless. So there were many in our Ægina who felt the draw of kindred, of friendship, of fellowship. But this is the Day, the Day of Decision, the Day of Lord Æacus. After the knife-edge of the balance comes the knife-edge of the guillotine."

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Touching the Eighth Olympian I have said more than once, "Pindar knew Aigina well, and the universal of the Aiginetan odes is often so pegged in the knotty entrails of the particular that it is hard to set it free", and not a few lovers of Pindar have attempted to liberate the Ariel of the Eighth Olympian. The latest comer is Mr. WHITMORE, who, in the October number of the *North Carolina University Studies in Philology*, has essayed the task of mediating the transition from the myth of Aiakos to the laudation of Melesias—fortified, as he says, by the progress of Pindaric study during the last twenty years. But cut off, as I am, from the bulk of my Pindaric apparatus, I must content myself with summarizing Mr. WHITMORE's article with such intercalary reflexions as would naturally occur to an old student of Pindar.

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The first question that arises is the time and place at which the ode was sung. Boeckh, followed by the majority of interpreters, makes Olympia the place, the time immediately after the victory; and the hurried preparation has been urged as an excuse for the lack of articulation, for what some would even call the ineptness of the insertion. Mr. WHITMORE argues at length for Aigina and a longer interval, but as he has solved the problem of the transition to his own satisfaction, that point does not seem to him of vital importance.

The story of Aiakos and the Aiakidai was a matter of obligation for the composer of an Aiginetan ode, and the myth of the Eighth Olympian deals with Aiakos as the fellow-worker with Apollo and Poseidon in the building of Troy. The task accomplished, Aiakos had the signal honour of being brought home to Aigina in the chariot of Poseidon; and when Borne-mann, with the familiar Teutonic sneer, asked how my note on v. 51, 'δεῦρο : To Aegina', harmonized with my acceptance of the earlier date, he simply showed that he had not read Boeckh's explanation. To be sure, I ought to have been more explicit.

The myth of Aiakos is followed by a sentiment on which the transition is supposed to hinge: *τερπνὸν δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐσον εἰσεται οὐδέν*. My interpretation has not satisfied Mr. WHITMORE. And no wonder. It has not satisfied me, as will presently appear.

'The contrast', I wrote, 'is between the life of the gods and the life of men. Apollo is happy in three places, Poseidon in two. But human beings are not equally happy everywhere. Timosthenes was victorious at Nemea, Alkimedon at Olympia. An Athenian would not be at home in Aigina, nor an Aiginetan at Athens. This commonplace prepares, *after a fashion*, the way for the inevitable mention of Melesias'.

This is the way in which the problem presents itself to Mr. WHITMORE'S mind:

'<The honor done to Aeacus was an exceptional honor>; often, when the gods took a mortal into their company, he remained there. <After citing the example of Ganymede, he goes on to say that Aeacus was indeed> favored beyond the common lot of mortals; but his good fortune could not be lasting, and Pindar adds the general observation, "Nothing among men remains equally (that is, uniformly) joyful". From this generality he passes to a more personal utterance: "But if I have traversed in song the glory that Melesias has won through his pupils, let not envy smite me with a jagged stone"; that is to say, let not my pleasure on the present occasion be imperilled by my praise of Melesias, which I will continue by mentioning victories won by yet another of his pupils, Timosthenes'.

True, Pindar is not disinclined to moralize on the changing fortunes of human life *ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοια διαιθύσσοισιν αὖται* (O. 7. 95), whether he is dealing with mythical heroes or with the victors in the games. Citations are needless. Nor is he averse from telling of the errors, the blunders, the failures, that mar the careers of those who figure in his songs. The Seventh Olympian will serve *instar omnium*. But in the Eighth Olympian there is no intimation that there was any drawback to the felicity of Aiakos. According to Mr. WHITMORE, as we have seen, Aiakos, as a fellow-worker of the gods, ought to have shared the fortune of Ganymede. One cannot help thinking that it would have seemed better to him to <judge> in hell than serve in heaven. Vergil's "his dantem iura Catonem" might have been suggested by what Pindar says of Aiakos, *δαιμόνεσσοι δίκας ἐπείραψε* (I. 8. 24). A far more simple way is the way of contrast, not of coincidence. From the First Olympian on, Pindar dwells on the contrast between the *ἄγρωτοι παιδες θεῶν* and the too vulnerable sons of men. The opening of the Sixth Nemean—a Melesias ode—is a classic passage. True, Aiakos was not a god, but he was *κεδνότατος ἐπιχθωνίων*, and his good fortune will never be paralleled. Taking *ἴσον* in its prevalent sense of 'equal', we learn that there is no pleasure, no transient pleasure (cf. O. 14. 5), in mortal life that will ever match the good fortune of Aiakos. No such lot

is that of Pindar. A god may be *ἀπήμων κέαρ* (P. 10, 22), not the singer who has to face the invidious task of praising an Athenian trainer who bore a familiar Athenian name. As compared with the unbroken felicity of Aiakos, or even with the mingled yarn of the average human life, Pindar's lot as an epinikian poet was not a happy one. In his profession, as in the days of Hesiod, the twin demons, Kotos and Phthonos, were rampant, and, being one of the 'irritable genus', Pindar was peculiarly sensitive to criticism. In every Greek community whose sons it was his part to praise, the same twin demons shewed their malignant faces. It is not without significance that Pindar throws into sharp relief the story of Aias and Odysseus (N. 7 and 8), and he was not slow to encounter his own detractors or those who assailed his victors. He was ready to shoot arrow for arrow, to give blow for blow, and he was, as was Melesias, *συμπεσεῖν δ' ἀκμᾶ βαρύς*. But he was also a master of the art of 'turning the fair side outward'. He was not above soothing the susceptibilities of such good friends and wealthy clients as the Aiginetans. The Aiginetans had quick ears and retentive memories, and if he had uttered aught that reflected upon a great Aiakid like Neoptolemos, he did not fail to make amends to the ruffled Aiginetans (N. 7).

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But Mr. WHITMORE has enhanced the embarrassment of Pindar's position by the acceptance of Mr. Paton's notion that Timosthenes was jealous of the success of his younger brother Alkimedon. True, this victory is the only Olympian victory credited to an Aiginetan, though the Aiginetan odes make up a fourth of the epinikia, and in like manner there is only one Pythian victory gained by an Aiginetan. The Aiginetan victories seem limited to a narrow circle. But Timosthenes as the elder brother doubtless footed the bill and as the head of his clan took pride in the Olympian victory. It is sheer guess-work to ascribe to Timosthenes the victories recorded in the latter part of the poem. Other commentators with equal right, or equal wrong, ascribe them to Melesias—himself a famous athlete and therefore especially qualified to act as a trainer. He had been the trainer of Timosthenes, and Timosthenes may have insisted on the tribute to his old master.

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The Aiginetans were evidently full fed with the Athenian Melesias, and Mr. WHITMORE may be right in his interpretation of *ἀνέδραμον νῦν φ* (v. 54), as a reference to P.'s previous

laudations of Melesias, who figures so largely in the Sixth Nemean, which winds up with the words: δελφῖνι κεν | τάχος δ' ἀλμας | ισον εἴποιμι Μελησίαν, | χειρῶν τε καὶ ισχύος ἀνίσχον. But what was Pindar to do? In the majority of the boy odes the trainer is mentioned by name. It was a familiar courtesy, if not exactly a *τεθμός*. O. 10. 16 Ilas is to the victor as Patroklos to Achilles. N. 5. 49, an Aiginetan ode, Menander is cited, and as the relations between Athens and Aigina were not so strained at that time Pindar says: *χρὴ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν τέκτον'* ἀθλητῶν ἔμμεν, a verse I am fond of citing when I urge the importance of a thorough training in Attic for those who undertake to wrestle with the Greek language. Add to this the three mentions of Melesias. The omissions may be accounted for. O. 11 is a very short ode and Ilas had been paid off in O. 10. In P. 11 those who believe in the prefiguration theory of the myth may see in Pylades and Orestes (v. 16) the types of trainer and trained. In N. 7 Pindar was too busy with Neoptolemos to think of anything else, and N. 8, at least according to Wilamowitz, he had eyes for no one but Deinias with whom he was hopelessly in love. But I must not expose myself to the critics of overstrained Pindaric exegesis. The subordination of the victor in the boy odes is at any rate an instance of the stress the Greeks laid on *σωφροσύνη*.

The latest commentary on O. 8 that I have seen is that of Cerrato, who translates the pivotal verse 'Nulla vi sarà mai, che a tutti gli uomini egualmente piaccia', and among all the various explanations favours the one given many years ago by Heyne: viam sibi parat ad laudem Melesiae aliptae; in qua interserenda invidiam deprecatur. 'You can't please everybody'; and 'You can't please everybody' is the upshot of Mr. WHITMORE's exegesis—as it is the upshot of this *Brief Mention*.

Poor old Heyne! As an ancient Göttinger I have a kindly feeling toward the scholar who was once the pride and boast of the Georgia Augusta; for Göttingen will never be to me what it was to Ernst August—'ein verflucht' Nest'. Poor old Heyne, overpraised in the beginning, underrated by a cabal of enemies in his latter days, he was after all a man. '<Heyne>', says Carlyle, 'is not less interesting for what he did than for what he was', and mindful of my own blunders I am fain to adopt his epitaph: Vixi et quem cursum dederat Fortuna peregi. It was pointed out by one of Wolf's accomplices that Heyne inflected the Greek imperative after the high Roman fashion, but some years ago I found that Wolf, or was it Wolf's editor? bestowed upon *vīcō* the aor. inf. *vīcāt*. At all events neither

Heyne nor Wolf seems to have mixed up his genders as some of the 'meri principes' have done and even in the matter of the inflexion of the Greek verb the leaders of philological studies in Germany have not all been guiltless. For proof-texts see the thirty-nine volumes of the Journal. I am not going to disfigure this page by the ugly parentheses against which one of my critics has vigorously protested.

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Turning over the pages of my Rabelais the other day I was surprised to find that he had attributed to 'Octavien' the famous doctrine of Julius Caesar in his *Analogia* in which he warns against an 'inauditum atque insolens vocabulum' 'tamquam scopulum'. To be sure I was inclined to pardon the false attribution because he used 'Octavianus' instead of 'Augustus', a bit of sacrilegious snobbery against which my soul has always revolted. But unfortunately Rabelais' slip called up sundry slips of my own as when not so long ago I paralleled the nodding of Father Homer in the matter of Nestor with the yawn of an M. P. over his own maiden speech, a yawn that elicited an ironical compliment from Disraeli. It is a familiar story but by a strange lapse I wrote 'Salisbury' instead of 'Hartington' (A. J. P. XXXV 113). True, there are other and perhaps worse slips, and I am prompted to record this one because of my delight in the brilliant appreciation of that dull statesman by Lytton Strachey in his *Eminent Victorians* (pp. 322 foll.). Such false ascriptions are very common and may give rise to learned discussions. Pindar ascribes the rescue of Nestor to his son Antilochos (P. 6. 28), whereas Homer credits it to Diomed. Was this a lapse on the part of Pindar or a designed antagonism? But Pindar always reminds me of something, and I find that Landor's criticism of Pindar's plethora of gold ought not to have been charged against Aspasia's correspondent but Aspasia herself (A. J. P. XXXIX 431).

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Mr. CUDWORTH'S *Odes of Horace Englished into Rimed Verse Corresponding to the Original Metres* calls up again the old question as to the relation between matter and form in the original poem. The new translator follows Mr. Conington's dictum that all Alcaics are to be rendered in the same metre, all Sapphics likewise in the same metre, and so throughout. Mr. Gladstone protested against the rule, and cited as a cogent proof the first *seven* odes of the Third Book. Others uphold it, and Professor Shorey says that the unity of the first *six* odes was

recognized by Porphyrio—'an ode sequence whose unity, like that of the sonnet sequences of modern poetry, depends on identity of metre and general similarity of moral purpose and aesthetic effect subsisting amid much diversity of detail'. It may be observed that Mr. Gladstone speaks of the first *seven* odes, and assuredly the seventh does not harmonize with the theory as to the compelling character of the Alcaic metre. As to Mr. CUNDWORTH's choice of corresponding metres—it is impossible for me to see anything convincing in his selection. But the whole matter has been discussed over and over again in various *Brief Mentions*—the latest being A. J. P. XXXVII 235, where the reader will find other references. Of the translation itself, which is not a metempsychosis, there is no space for a detailed criticism.

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D. M. R.: In 1917 the AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME issued the first volume of *Memoirs* (Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche), a continuation of two volumes of Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies. It is thoroughly Italian in appearance. The print is good and suggests the Roman styles of the Renaissance. The titles of the papers by former and present members of the Academy are as follows: The reorganization of the Roman priesthoods at the beginning of the Republic; The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours; The Aqua Traiana and the mills on the Janiculum; Ancient granulated jewelry of the VIIth century B. C. and earlier; Bartolomeo Caporali; Capita Desecta and marble coiffures; and the military indebtedness of early Rome to Etruria. The frontispiece is a beautiful reproduction of a statue found in 1901 on the site of the Gardens of Sallust, which has been loaned by Mrs. Gardner to the Academy. The first paper is the last published article of Director CARTER, who died last year while engaged in a Red Cross Mission to the Italian front, and who had already made many important contributions to the study of Roman Religion. The second paper is a learned palaeographical study in which Professors RAND and HOWE differ from SHIPLEY and maintain that the Reginensis (762) manuscript of Livy represents only an early stage of the Tours script. The third article is a scholarly study of remains found on the site of the Academy, by VAN BUREN and STEVENS. The study of Granulated Jewelry by CURTIS is in continuation of his previous work in this line and is a valuable contribution. The study of the neglected Bartolomeo Caporali is exhaustive, original, and abundantly illustrated. The essay on Capita Desecta revives an old subject and rejects the theories of HEUZEY, REINACH, BERNoulli and

Gauckler, and concludes that Greek and Roman sculptors were more ready than we have been willing to admit to employ more than a single block in the making of a marble head. Mr. CRAWFORD might have referred to the fact that heads have been found in Egypt with a separate piece for the coiffure (cf. Breasted in *Art and Archaeology*, IV, 1916, p. 239). McCARTNEY in his article shows that in weapons and methods of warfare Rome was completely subject to Etruria. In the discussion of the helmet, a reference to the article of Schröder in *Jahrbuch des d. arch. Inst.* XXVII, 1912, pp. 317 f. is lacking, and for the chariot refer also to Mercklin, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1909. The idea of standards is Macedonian and Hellenistic as well as Asiatic, and to say that all agree in ascribing the trumpet to the Etruscans is hardly correct as it occurs on a sixth century Greek vase of Amasis and other Greek vases such as Baumeister's *Bilder* no. 258, and also on Greek coins showing the victory of Samothrace.

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W. P. M.: *Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*. By CAROLINE GOAD. Yale Studies in English, No. 58. 1918. 641 pp. \$3.00 net. This is a careful study of the use of Horace by the great English writers of the eighteenth century. A long appendix (pp. 291-620) gives all the allusions to, and quotations of, Horace in the works of the authors considered. The book is well written, and there is an excellent index. The author finds that in the eighteenth century "Horace was the most frequently quoted and deferred to of any classic author"; also, that there was a noticeable tendency to use the Satires and Epistles more than the Odes. It is interesting to read that both Pope and Johnson could speak of 'disiecta membra poetae', and that Johnson could make Horace say 'inter stellas Luna minores'. On p. 487 there is a quotation from Fielding, 'that *ingens solitudo* complained of by Horace', with the note that there is no such expression as *ingens solitudo* in Horace. It might have been added that the expression comes from Martial, iii. 44, 3, 'quacumque venis, fuga est et *ingens* | circa te, Ligurine, *solitudo*'. In the quotation on p. 19, 'Stultum' should be 'Stultorum'.

## KIRBY FLOWER SMITH

Dec. 6, 1862—Dec. 6, 1918

ΟΛΒΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΜΑΤΟΙΣ ΟΛΒΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΩΙ

In the last number of the American Journal of Philology there was neither time nor space for more than a brief announcement of the sudden death of KIRBY FLOWER SMITH, Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University, and one of the stays of the Journal. In any case the poignant grief at the loss of the man would not suffer those whose work lay nearest to his to attempt an estimate of what he had wrought as teacher, scholar, author. Since then friends and admirers have vied with one another in telling of his splendid achievements in the cause of classical learning, so that I, to whom he was very near and very dear, am left to bring this belated tribute to his memory.

A part of the Johns Hopkins from its earliest days, it has been my lot to do honour to many of those who have been summoned from the service of the University to life in another world than ours. It is a long procession that passes through the lych-gate of my memory—president, trustee, colleague, pupil. But the death of none of those fellow-workers has made me feel so inly a touch of grief as the withdrawal of one who called me not only teacher and friend but foster-father.

To use the words of a master poet, 'He stood beside me like my youth'; and to me he was always young. Counting by years, he was not young at the time of his departure; for he had rounded his fifty-sixth year, and had fulfilled the ideal of a man of letters, as set forth by a man of letters. He had completed one monumental work, and given to the world sundry episodes.<sup>1</sup> Fifty-six is an age before which many

<sup>1</sup>The Elegies of Albius Tibullus; edited with Introduction and Notes (New York, 1913); Archaisms of Terence mentioned in the Commentary of Donatus (J. H. U. Diss., 1890); An Historical Study of the Werwolf in Literature (Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc., 1894); On a Legend of the Alban Lake told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (A. J. P. XVI); Some Irregular Forms of the Elegiac Distich (A. J. P. XVI); The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia (A. J. P. XXIII); Pupula

scholars have wrought immortal things. Fifty-six was the age of the Elder Pliny when he died, and what his nephew ascribed to his uncle might well be ascribed to my foster-son, 'acre ingenium, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia'. But with all this alert and penetrating intellect, this surpassing enthusiasm, this wide and quick vision, KIRBY SMITH's outstanding trait was his indomitable youthfulness of spirit. In one of his latest papers he himself has recognized this among his striking characteristics—recognized it with that delightful candour which breathes through all his writings. I have sometimes thought that this youthful elasticity may have wrought him injustice. He moved with so quick and springy a step through so vast a domain of literature that those who cannot think of learning without pedantry were puzzled by his easy command of wide stretches not only of his own special field but of English, French, and Italian literature. And what he learned he reproduced with a facile, graceful, humorous touch which lighted up every theme that he handled. Nor did he limit his range to the sphere of literature. He was a close observer of social life, and antiquity lived again in him. And with all this he did not disdain the severe study of grammar, and the collection of arid statistics—not arid with him—was carried out with a painstaking exactness that would have done credit to those who have no other claim than exactness.

In the tablet prefixed to this halting tribute to one who for more than thirty years shared my life of study I have quoted from a late anthologist the words ὅλβιος ἐν καμάτοις, ὅλβιος ἐν θανάτῳ. "Ολβιος ἐν καμάτοις, 'fortunate in his labours', emphasizes his unremitting toil, his 'incredibile studium'; ὅλβιος ἐν θανάτῳ, 'fortunate in his death', is the unaffected utterance of one who has learned through suffering to envy those who have obtained their discharge before the last stage of all has brought with it decreasing vigour of performance and ever increasing sense of loneliness.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

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Duplex (Studies in Honor of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, 1902); The Influence of Art upon Certain Traditional Passages in the Epic Poetry of Statius (Amer. Journ. Archaeol. 1903); Review of Zielinski's Clausegesetz in Ciceros Reden (A. J. P. 1904); The Sources of Ben Jonson's 'Still to be Neat' (A. J. P. XXIX); The Ages of Man, Greek and Roman Magic, The Roman Drama, Hecate's Suppers (Encycl. of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh, 1908 ff.); Propertius: A Modern Lover in the Augustan Age (Sewanee Review, 1917); Martial: the Epigrammatist (Sewanee Review, 1918); The Poet Ovid (Univ. of N. C. Studies in Philol. 1918); etc., etc.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

To return to the theme of definition (see *Brief Mention* in vol. 36, 242) I offer the following criticism of Walde's lexicon. In IF. 26, 35 I had explained *vērātrum*, the Latin name of the hellebore, as a complex of a neuter nominative *vēr[d]* (: IE. *wyd* in Gothic *waurts*; cf. *vrād-* in Lat. *rādix*) + *ātrum* (black), and not without mention of the Greek name *μελαμπόδιον*. All of this is magnificently disposed of by Walde (s. v.) in the sweeping word *falsch*. Indeed! Yet I did cite *μελαμπόδιον*, without taking the trouble (alas!) to demonstrate that *μελαμπόδιον* meant blackroot. Whoever doubts the metaphor (root = foot) should consider Latin *pedes betacei* (=beetroots); and we can find an excellent illustration of the characteristic black root-stock (rhizome, pedicule) of the hellebore in the Encyclopedia Britannica. Since writing first on *veratrum* I have found in Cato (r. r. 115) that the plant, with a fine tautology avoided in Pliny (n. h. 15, 47 sq.), was expressly called *veratrum atrum*. For the postponement of the adjective in the complex further cf. Lat. *holusātrum* and French *pi-vert*. Noun complexes of a like sort are found in Spanish *avestruz* (i. e., *avis struthio*) and in Greek *μυ-γαλῆ* (mouse-weasel, i. e. shrew mouse). In English *smallage* we have a plant name, the complex of adj. *small* and French *ache* (= Lat. *apium*). To the entirely simple and direct analysis of *ver-atrum* as blackroot, Walde opposes the definition <herba per sternutationem> *verum* (i. e., bonum omen!) faciens, and makes it an instrument noun to *verare* (to speak the truth). In *vēr[d]atrum d* may be dispensed with altogether in favor of *wēr* from a root *wer* (to twist, in Lat. *ver-t-o*), extended in Lat. *rādix* to *wrād* (not from *wer*, to raise oneself, pace Boisacq, p. 832). Pliny's Melampus is a mere aetiology to account for *melam-podium*.

E. W. FAY.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-155 W. 25th St., New York, for material furnished.

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